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THE

HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND

Containing an

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs

Of the COUNTRY

To the YEAR of our LORD, 1700.

To which is added

The PRESENT STATE of *New-England.*

With a *New* and *Accurate* MAP of the *Country.*

AND AN

APPENDIX

Containing their

Preſent Charter, *their* Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, *and their* Municipal-Laws.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

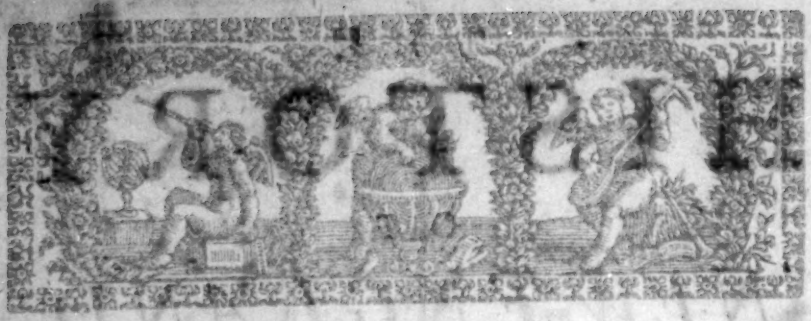
By DANIEL NEAL.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for J. CLARK, *at the* Bible *&* Crown *in the* Poultry, R. FORD, *at the* Angel *in the* Poultry, *and* R. CRUTTENDEN, *at the* Bible *and* Three Crowns *in* Cheapſide

M DCC XX.



MVSEVM
BRITAN
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THE following History of New-England cannot have to natural and equitable a Claim to any Protection as to Yours, to whom this Province, by the Goodness of GOD, under His Majesty, owes the Peace, Religion, and Liberty it enjoys.



TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SAMUEL SHUTE, Eſq;

His Majeſty's Captain-General, and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of the Maſſachuſet-Bay, *and* New-Hampſhire, *and Vice-Admiral of the ſame;*

And to the Honourable

WILLIAM DUMMER, Eſq;

Lieutenant-Governour of the Province of the Maſſachuſet-Bay; *with the* Council, *and* General Aſſembly.

May it pleaſe Your Excellency and Your Honours,

THE following Hiſtory of *New-England* cannot have ſo natural and equitable a Claim to any Protection as to Yours, to whom this Province, by the Goodneſs of GOD, under His Majeſty, owes the Peace, Religion, and Liberty it enjoys.

Whilſt your Thoughts and Endeavours are employ'd how to make this Country flouriſhing and happy, I flatter myſelf you will not be diſpleaſed to look back to its Original, and obſerve by what Steps it has arrived to the Figure it now makes in *America*. A Reflection of this Nature will give Pleaſure to all, who will be at the Trouble to make it; but I imagine muſt afford a particular Relief to You from the Care and Toils of Government, and at the ſame Time, prove the nobleſt Encouragement to continue Your Vigilance for the Good of Your Country.

Oppreſſion and Perſecution here, the greateſt Vices Men can be guilty of, gave Birth to *New-England* at firſt; and Liberty among you, the moſt publick Bleſſing, has yielded Nouriſhment to it ever ſince; and will always keep it vigorous and healthy, though Oppreſſion and Perſecution, by an unhappy Return among us, ſhould make no Acceſſion to your Wealth and Numbers.

It is but a little while ſince ſeveral here had their Eyes towards You, and when they had Reaſon to apprehend, they ſhould not be able to live much longer in their own Country, bleſs'd GOD they had a Sanctuary in yours: And though the Proteſtant Succeſſion has deliver'd us from thoſe Fears, yet it will be a Noble Deſign, and worthy of Men in Your Station, to preſerve *New-England* a pleaſant Habitation to its preſent Poſſeſſors, and a Bleſſed Retreat for Oppreſſed *Proteſtants* in all Parts of the World.

If *Europe* ſhould encreaſe in Vice and Luxury, proportionably to what it has done of late; and You, who have now the Character of a Religious People, ſhould advance proportionably in Piety and Vertue; as theſe Parts of the World will certainly decline in Wealth and Power, ſo You are the moſt likely to acquire them.

You now glory in an Universal Loyalty to the best of Kings, in a becoming Zeal for the Sacred Truths of the Reformation, and in an Universal Love, Charity, and Forbearance of each other in your differing Sentiments: As long as You can preserve this Boasting, *New-England* will be indeed the Glory of the Churches, and a Praise in the whole Earth. May You long maintain these Principles, which are not only essential to the Christian Religion, but the very Foundation of the Peace and Happiness of Society!

This Happy State of Things seems reserv'd to crown the Wise and Gentle Administration of *His Excellency the present Governour*, who is of a Family eminent for its Zeal for Civil Liberty; who has himself bravely used his Sword, as he does now his Power in Defence of it; and who is distinguish'd by a Brother, who has acquir'd more True Glory by his Successful Endeavours to preserve *Your* Liberties, and recover *Ours*, when they were

in the moſt imminent Danger; than by the Adoption he has had from Two Gentlemen, on the Account of this Part of his Character.

May *Your Excellency* continue to fill the High Station the Divine Providence has advanced You to, with encreaſing Glory and Renown, to the Honour of His Majeſty, and the Joy of all Good People in *New-England!* And may the *Country* flouriſh in Riches, Trade, Religion, and all Social Vertues under your prudent Adminiſtration!

May You, *Gentlemen Repreſentatives*, long enjoy ſo Valuable a Governour, and Patron of your Liberties! May all Parties and Diviſions among you ceaſe, and the only Emulation be, Who ſhall moſt promote the Publick Good! May you perſevere in your Duty and Loyalty to His Majeſty K. George, in an unbyaſs'd Love and Affection to your Country, and in an unwearied Application to publick Buſineſs! And may you live long, to taſte the Pleaſures that will ariſe from the Acknowledgments of a Thankful Peo-

ple, and be at last (but for the Good of your Country a great while hence) rewarded with a Crown of Glory, which shall never fade away! I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Excellency's

and Your Honours

most Obedient and

most Humble Servant,

DANIEL NEAL.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PRE-

THE PREFACE.

THE *Beginnings of Kingdoms and Nations have ſeldom been tranſmitted down to Poſterity with any Degree of Certainty, by reaſon of the ſlow Progreſs of their Affairs; a Century of Years in thoſe early Ages of the World not furniſhing Materials for a few Pages in Hiſtory; but the* Engliſh *Plantations in* America *happening at a Time when* Europe *was fill'd with Inhabitants, have produced ſuch extraordinary Events in the very firſt Age of their Settlement, as are worthy the Notice of Poſterity.*

NO *Body wonders at the vaſt Increaſe of the* Spaniſh *Power in* South America, *who has heard of the rich Mines of* Potoſi, *and of the prodigious Quantities of Silver brought from thence*

thence into Spain *every Year; but* New-England *had no ſuch Advantages, there were no Silver and Gold Mines, nor any Proſpect of Riches or Pleaſure; the Motives which induced the* Planters *to ſettle there, were therefore of another Nature; they were driven from Home for their religious Diſſent from the Church of* England, *and finding themſelves unable to fix their Principles in any Part of* Europe, *they reſolved to plant them in* America.

THE *Wiſdom of Divine Providence is very often ſeen in over-ruling the Deſigns of Men to contrary Purpoſes, when they make uſe of Violence and Oppreſſion for the propagating their own Opinions, or the ſuppreſſing thoſe of others; thus the Perſecution of the Church at* Jeruſalem *occaſioned the ſpreading the Chriſtian Religion throughout the Regions of* Judea *and* Samaria; *and the Severity of ſome of the Biſhops againſt the* Puritans *in the Reigns of Q.* Elizabeth, *K.* James *and K.* Charles *the Firſt, inſtead of cruſhing them, did but ſend them into* America, *where their Principles are now the Eſtabliſhed Religion of a flouriſhing Commonwealth: Had the* Puritans *been made eaſy at Home by a Toleration, or an Abatement of ſome of the Ceremonies of the Church,* New-England *had ſtill been an uninhabited Wilderneſs; but Archbiſhop* Laud, *by preſſing Conformity with ſo*

much

much Rigour, and depriving *ſo many popular Preachers in all Parts of the Country for not complying with the Canons, ſent more Families into* New-England *in the Twelve Years of his Adminiſtration, than would otherwiſe have gone over in an Age: Nay, ſo ſtrong was the Tide of the People's Affections towards* America *at that Time, that it was found neceſſary to prohibit their leaving the Kingdom without Licence from the* King *and* Council, *which heighten'd the People's Diſcontents againſt the Archbiſhop, and haſtned thoſe Calamities, which in a few Years, like a ſwelling Flood overflow'd their Banks, and drown'd both Church and Commonwealth.*

THE *Reader now ſees the Reaſon of my inſerting in the ſecond Chapter of this Hiſtory, a ſhort Account of the Sufferings of the* Puritans *here in* England, *without which he could form no juſt Idea of the Riſe of the* New Engliſh *Settlements; I have collected it from the moſt unexceptionable Authorities, and writ it with Freedom and Impartiality, tho' I can't help declaring myſelf ſometimes on the Side of* Liberty, *and an Enemy to* Oppreſſion *in all its Forms and Colours; Accordingly, I have taken the Liberty to cenſure ſuch a Conduct in all Parties of Chriſtians, where-ever I have found it.*

THE *Hiſtory it ſelf contains a Variety of*

Mate-

Materials for the Reader's Inſtruction and Entertainment; as, the Conjectures of learned Men concerning the firſt Peopling of America, *the Cuſtoms and Manners of the* Indians, *their Wars with the* Engliſh, *and the Attempts that have been made by the* Eliots *and* Mayhews *for their Converſion, which have ſucceeded far beyond the Efforts of ſome others of greater Names, who have employed more Hands, and given them greater Encouragement. He'l be no leſs entertained with obſerving a little Commonwealth riſing out of its firſt Principles, ſtruggling with a Thouſand Difficulties in its Infant-ſtate, and at laſt triumphing over them all. I have mention'd with Freedom the Miſtakes which the Government of* New-England *fell into, with relation to the* Quakers *and* Anabaptiſts, *as well as their late Severities towards thoſe who ſuffered for ſuſpected* Witchcrafts *and* Sorceries; *It being the Office of an Hiſtorian to ſet Affairs in a true light, and to record the Political Vertues and Vices of Men of a publick Character, the one for our Imitation, and the other as a Mark to avoid the Rock on which they ſplit. I have inſerted in their proper Places, the Deaths and Characters of the moſt Conſiderable Perſons in Church and State; and annex'd to the whole, a Chapter relating to the Preſent State of the Country, in the drawing up of*

which, I have had the Aſſiſtance of ſome learned and ingenious Perſons in both Englands, *whoſe Names would do Honour to this Hiſtory, were I allowed to mention them.*

'Tis not neceſſary to acquaint the Reader in this Place, with the ſeveral Authors from whom I have collected the following Narrative, becauſe he will find moſt of them cited in the Margin as he goes along; but it may not be improper to inform him of the Credit and Reputation of thoſe on whoſe Authority the principal Matters of Fact depend.

Mr. Edward Winſlow, *who went over with the firſt Colony in the Year* 1620, *and was at the Head of their Affairs for ſeveral Years, publiſh'd a ſhort Account of the Country, and a Journal of the Proceedings of the Infant-Colony for the firſt three or four Years; he was a Gentleman of known Probity and Goodneſs, and his Work has been copied univerſally by all that have come after him.*

Mr. Nathaniel Morton, *Secretary to the Court for the Juriſdiction of* New Plymouth, *publiſh'd in the Year* 1669, New England's Memorial, 4to. *He was one of the firſt Planters of* New Plimouth, *and confines his Narrative chiefly to that Colony; the Reverend Mr.* Higginſon *of* Salem, *and Mr.* Thacher *of* Boſton *have prefix'd a Teſtimonial to his*

Work

Work, wherein they declare, That 'tis composed with Modesty of Spirit, and Truth of Matter. *Mr.* Morton *had certainly all the Advantages an Historian could desire, for besides his being at the Head of Affairs himself, he tells us, he had the Benefit of Governour* Bradford's *M. S.* Journal, *from the Year* 1620, *to the Year* 1646.

Mr. Wood *and Mr.* Josselyn *have publish'd a sort of natural History of* New-England, *the former in the Year* 1639, *the latter about the Year* 1671. Wood's *Design was to give his Reader a Prospect of the Country; but* Josselyn, *besides a Description of the several Towns, as they stood in the Year* 1671, *has given us a Curious Description of the* Birds, Beasts, Plants, *and* Insects *of the Country, which he dedicates to the* Royal Society: *But this may be observed of them both, that when they speak of the* Natives, *they affect rather to make their Readers merry, than tell them the Truth; Mr.* Josselyn's *Account of the* present Inhabitants *is perfectly ludicrous, but the other Parts of his Book contain several Rare and Valuable Materials.*

Dr. Increase Mather *in the Year* 1677, *publish'd an Exact Relation of the* Pequot *War, and of the several Quarrels between the* Indians *and* English *to that Time.*

The

The ſame Year, the Reverend Mr. Hubbard *Miniſter of* Ipſwich *in* New-England, *publiſh'd a Large Account of the War with* Philip *King of the* Wompanoags, *in* 4to; *to which is annex'd a* Supplement, *concerning the* Pequot *War, and a* Poſtſcript, *relating to the War with the* Eaſtern Indians; *the Honourable* Simon Bradſtreet, Daniel Deniſon, *and* Joſeph Dudley, *Eſqrs; being deputed by the Governour and Council of the* Maſſachuſet-Colony *to peruſe, and Licenſe it, declared,* That the Author had faithfully and truly perform'd his Work, as far as the beſt Information could be obtained, and that he deſerved publick Thanks for the ſame.

But the moſt famous Hiſtorian of New-England *is the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Cotton Mather, *who with great Diligence and Induſtry has collected a Variety of uſeful Materials, for the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtory of his Country, and publiſh'd them to the World in* Folio, *under the Title of,* Magnalia Chriſti Americana, *or,* The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of New England, from the Year 1620, to the Year 1698, *with the Atteſtation of the Reverend Mr.* Higginſon, *one of the Oldeſt Miniſters of the Country, prefix'd to it. The Dr. is certainly a Gentleman of great Probity and Vertue, and having been at the Head of Affairs in his Coun-*

try,

try for a great many Years, is as capable of knowing the Truth of the Facts he relates as any Man living; Had the Dr. put his Materials a little closer together, and disposed them in another Method, his Work would have been more acceptable to this Part of the World, but as it is, his great Integrity and Diligence deserve the publick Thanks of his Country.

These are the Authors of Greatest Name, whom I have consulted on this Occasion, besides which, I have read over a great number of smaller Pamphlets, and made the best Use of them I could. The Chapter Of the Conversion of the Indians, was drawn up from the Memoirs and Letters of Mr. Eliot, Mayhew, and other Missionaries to the Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England, and where these were deficient, I have had the kind Assistance of the Society itself.

Where Facts have been differently related, or the Justice of the Government arraign'd, as in the Sufferings of the Anabaptists and Quakers, and in the late Affair of Witchcraft, I have consulted the Writers on both Sides, and by comparing them together, have set them in the best Light I could, leaving the Reader to make what Reflections on them he pleases.

In the Map of the Country prefix'd to this Work, which is perfectly new, and done from

the

the lateſt Surveys, I have divided the ſeveral Provinces, or Governments from each other, by double prick'd Lines, and the ſeveral Counties in each Province, by ſingle prick'd Lines; and becauſe the Scale *would not admit the taking in of* Canada River *and* Quebec, *nor a diſtinct View of the Town and Harbour of* Boſton; *I have therefore added a Plan of each; the one to ſhew the Situation of* New France, *with Regard to* New England; *the other to ſhew the ſeveral Iſlands, Rocks, and Sands in the* Maſſachuſet Bay, *with the Soundings, and the Ship-Channel to the Town of* Boſton.

The Abridgment of the Laws and Ordinances of New England, *publiſh'd in the* Appendix (*) *is diſpoſed into an Alphabetical Method; but it muſt be obſerved, that ſome of the more Ancient Ones, relating to* Faſhions, Dreſs, *&c. are obſolete; and others which require Eccleſiaſtical Qualifications for Civil Preferments, are repealed by the* New Charter, *and yet it was not proper to omit them, becauſe they diſcover the Genius of the firſt Planters, as well as give Light to ſeveral Parts of the Hiſtory.*

Upon the whole, I have got together the beſt Collection of Materials I could, and endeavoured

* Appendix Numb. IV.

to dispose them in the most proper Order; and as I have not wilfully committed any Mistakes, so when I am convinced of any such, I shall willingly retract them, having no Interests of my own to serve separate from Truth; I have sometimes spoken freely of Men's Actions, but never reproach'd any Man for his Principles, nor entail'd the Judgments of Almighty GOD *on Families, as some of our late Historians have done; but after all, whether I have done any Service to the Publick, or been able to support the Gravity and Impartiality of an* Historian *in the following Performance, I now submit to the Judgment of the Reader.*

London, December 14, 1719.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Besides a few literal Mistakes, and false Pointings, which will not mislead the Reader, I desire him to Correct the following

ERRATA.

PAge 17. line 28. dele *New.* p. 27. l. 9. read suit. p. 28. l. 16. r. into. p. 65. l. 1. r. deserve. p. 89. l. 15. r. from whome. p. 91. l. 9. r. shot. p 112. l. 28. r. musket. p. 141. l. 7. r. disgust. p. 150. l. 26. r. Answers. p. 178. l. ult. r. overstock'd. p. 179 l. 29. r. retractation. p. 186. l. 19. r. obliges. Ib. l. 27. *prælegendi.* p. 200. l. 22. for *Hauser* r. *John.* p. 309. l. 15. r. STEVENSON. p. 380. l. 25. r. had. p. 408. l. 37. r. 72. p. 466. l. 15. r. North. p. 536. l. 11. dele He. p 545. l. 11. r. think of. p. 548. in margin r. 1695. p. 564. l. 7. r. S West and N. East. Ib. l. 10. r. West South West. p. 585. l. 16. r. Needle. p. 596. l. 18. r. 70l.

N. B. Two or Three Gentlemen mention'd in the List p 264 l 16 are lately dead.

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A NEW MAP
OF NEW ENGLAND
According to the
Latest Observation
1720
Printed for I. Clark, R. Ford, and R. Cruttendon.
NEW ENGLAND
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASACHUSETS
CONNECTICUT
NEW YORK
RHODE ISLE
Lake Irocoise
Hudsons River
Connecticut River
Merrimack R.
Saco R.
Casko R.
Piscataway
Portsmouth
Dover
Exeter
Amsbury
Haverill
Salisbury
Newbery
Rowly
Ipswich
Cape Anne
Glocester
Marble Head
Boston Harbour
Cape Cod
Barnstable
Plymouth
Marshfield
Duxbury
Bristol
Swanzey
Pocasset
Narraganset
Providence
Pequot
Norwich
Hartford
Weathersfield
Middletown
Springfield
Northampton
Hadsfield
Deerfield
Albany
Whales I
Albany
I. Bears
East Reach
Baker's Reach
Long I.
Block Isle
Martins Vineyard
Plum I.
Wamponaman


66
65
64
63
62
61
60
59
Duke of Yorks Claimes
Propriety from Kenebeck R.
to Ste Crux
Kenebeck
A N D
Aancebeck R.
Sagadahock & the 3 Rivers
Cusco R.
Fishno
Scarborough Point R.
Cape Porpus
Saco R.
Winnipiseogee Town & R.
Dambiscotteem R.
Penaquid
Nigsomus R.
Sawocket R.
Pemaquid R.
Machelequins
Black Fox
Aldenrakeith Bay
Naraguagus
Machias R.
R. St. Croix
R. St. John
R. St. Louis
C. Simond
Annapolis Royal
C. Fouellis
Labor B.
Bay of Funda
PART OF
Bay St. Marie
Longa I.
NOVA
SCOTIA
Coreance B.
Cape Sable
Saggadahook
Outlet
Small Point
Casco Bay
Maggon I.
Damaris Cove I.
Hendl Island
Mentinicus
Mehigon I.
Mount Desert I.
White Rock
Scale Islands
I. Goat
Manchane
Jafferies
Ledge
Cod
Old Rose and Crown
New Rose & Crown
Nantucket
Martyns I.
Wanbrit Rock
The Harbour of
BOSTON
Malden
Charlestown
Nodles I.
Boston
Roxbury
Pulling Pt.
Dorchester
Castle I.
Lovells I.
Hangman
The Channel
Milton
Petticks I.
P. Alderton
Braintrey Bay
Braintrey
Menetecut
Weymouth
Concyset
Hingham
A Scale of 10 Miles
Part of the NORTHERN HEMISPHERE
Maurtius B.
Resolution
C. Smith
C. Chidley
C. Farewell
Saltpeter B.
Anthony R.
Noot Haven
East Camels B.
C. Jones
Hollands B.
NEW BRITAIN
Sawage B.
C. Charles
Bill I.
C. Rugged
R. Francis
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gadmsai
Bay of
St. Laurence
Quebec
L. St. Peter
NEW
ENGLAND
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THE HISTORY OF *NEW-ENGLAND.*

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt peopling of America. *The Diſcovery of it by* Columbus. *A Relation of the ſeveral unſucceſsful Attempts to make a Settlement on the Northern Continent. A Survey of* New-England, *with a Character of the Principal Nations who inhabited it before the* Engliſh *diſpoſſeſſed them. A Deſcription of the Natives, their Cuſtoms, Manners, Laws, Religion, Government, and Language.*



THERE have been two different Opinions advanced by Learned Men concerning the firſt peopling of *America.* Some have thought that the Natives of that Country were *Aborigines*, and not deſcended from the Sons of *Noah*, as the reſt of Mankind are: The Reaſons they offer for the Support of their Opinion are; the great Diſtance of

America, which is ſeparated from *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa* by ſuch vaſt Seas, or inacceſſible Tracts of Ice, as 'tis impoſſible to ſuppoſe any of our Inhabitants ſhould paſs over; the Diſagreement that is between the *Americans* and the reſt of Mankind in their Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms, and Language; and the many Species of Animals found amongſt them which are common to no other Part of the World. But if it appear probable that the Inhabitants of *Europe* have paſs'd from thence into *America*, this Opinion ought to be abandoned as contrary to the Account the Scriptures give of the Original of Mankind, and advanced only on the Account of ſome Difficulties in the other Scheme, which the Patrons of this, could not tell how to get over.

THEY who think *America* was peopled from *Europe*, *Aſia*, or *Africa*, differ among themſelves as to the Time, Place, and Manner, in which it was done; 'tis pretty certain, that the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts are not the Poſterity of *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, or *Mahometans*, becauſe there were none of the Footſteps of thoſe Religions found among them, nor had they ever heard of the Names of *Moſes*, *Chriſt*, or *Mahomet*, till they were acquainted with the *Europeans*. The Learned *Hornius*, who has taken a great deal of Pains in this Enquiry, concludes, that *America* received its Inhabitants at different Times from theſe three Nations; the *Phœnicians*, the *Scythians*, and the *Chineſe*.

'TIS poſſible that the *Phœnicians* might paſs very early into *America*, for when the *Canaanites* were expell'd their Country by the *Iſraelites* under the Command of *Joſhua*, they fled to the moſt diſtant Parts of the World. *Procopius* ſays there were two Marble Pillars at *Tingri*, or *Tangiers*, with this Inſcription in the *Phœnician* Language; "*We fly from* "*the Face of the Robber* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun." And being skilful in Shipping 'tis not unlikely, that they

they ſailed as far as the *Canaries*, agreeably to what *Hornius* ſuggeſts, that thoſe Iſlands derived their Names, not *à Canibus*, for there were no Dogs in the Iſlands when they were firſt diſcovered; but *à Chananæis*. "*Diodorus Siculus* * ſays, that the *Phœ-* "*nicians* did very anciently ſail out beyond *Hercu-* "*les*'s Pillars, along the *African* Coaſt, and meet- "ing with Storms and Tempeſts, were carried to "the remoteſt Parts of the Ocean, and at length "came to a vaſt Iſland many Days Sail from *Lybia*, "lying very far Weſt." And in another Place he ſays, "that the *Carthaginians* being oppreſs'd by "the *Tyrians* and *Mauritanians*, took Shipping, and "paſſing by *Cades*, ſailed to this new Region in "the *Atlantick* Ocean where they planted a Co- "lony.

BESIDES, ſome of the *Indian* Words ſeem to be of a *Punick* or *Phœnician* Original, as *Ben-Ommian*, the Son of *Ommia*; *Aben-Amagos* the Son of *Mago*; the one an Eminent *Carthaginian* Family, the other an *Arabian* one; and 'tis very remarkable, that the Natives of *New-England* call the *Septentriones*, *Mosk* and *Pankunaw*, which in their Language ſignifies a Bear; now there being no Reſemblance between the Figure of the Conſtellation and that Animal, they muſt have learn'd that Name from the *Phœnicians*, who called it ſo.

BUT after all, theſe Arguments are far from proving that the *Phœnicians* ſailed into *America*; we may allow they went to the *Canary*, or *Fortunate Iſlands*, which was a very bold Adventure too, before the Uſe of the Needle was found out, for the ancient Sailors always kept within Sight of Land, unleſs they were driven out to Sea by a Storm; but to imagine from hence, that they correſponded with a Country almoſt a thouſand Leagues Weſtward of

* *Lib.* V. *p.* 299. *Ed. Han.* 1604.

the *Canaries*, is altogether groundleſs; beſides the Reaſon which *Hornius* offers to account for their Poſterity's Ignorance of *America*, if it be good for any Thing, may ſerve as well for the *Canaries*; his Words are theſe, "But tho' it be thus probable "that the *Phœnicians* were acquainted with *Ame-* "*rica*, yet they kept it as a very great Secret; the "*Carthaginians* forbid all manner of Navigation "that Way, under the ſevereſt Penalties; and by a "publick Edict excluded even their own People "from ſailing into the *Atlantick* Ocean, which "may help us to the Reaſon why *America*, tho' "known to theſe ancient *Phœnicians*, ſhould be loſt "to the Memory of their Poſterity."

'Tis with greater Probability, that he derives the Inhabitants of *America* from the *Scythians*, who inhabited all that Tract of Land, now known by the Name of *Tartary*, which lies to the Weſt, North, and Eaſt of the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Seas, and were ſubdivided into the *Hunni*, the *Kithæ*, the *Sinæ*, and ſeveral other leſſer Nations. The barbarous Inhabitants of this mighty Extent of Ground, after they had filled all the Northern *Aſia*, might ramble into *America*, either by the Eaſt or the Weſt, and that either by Land, the Continents there being ſuppoſed to join; or elſe over narrow Straits of the Sea. They who went Weſtward might go firſt to the Banks of the River *Oby*, from thence to the Shore of the Frozen Sea towards *Nova Zembla*; and from *Nova Zembla* and *Lapland* 'tis but about four Days Sail to *Groenland*, which according to *Hornius* is Part of the Continent of *America*; and to render this Voyage the more practicable he obſerves, that there are many Iſlands interſperſt in the Way which may be reach'd in Canoos in the Summer Time, and may probably be approach'd in the Winter by the Ice.

FATHER *Averil* in his Travels into *Muſcovy* has a remarkable Paſſage which ſeems to confirm this Conjecture

Conjecture; he tells us, that * *Mouchim Pouchim*, Waywode of *Smolensko* aſſured him, that at the Mouth of the River *Cawvina* lying beyond the *Oby*, which after it has increaſed its Waters from the River *Leka* falls into the Frozen Sea, there is a populous and ſpacious Iſland, the Inhabitants whereof were the firſt that diſcovered it; that there is an amphibious Animal in thoſe Parts called *Behemoth*, as big and no leſs dangerous than a Crocodile; that it requires a great deal of Labour and Aſſiduity to hunt this Animal, and therefore they carry their Families along with them; and that it often happens, when they are advanced a great Way on the Ice, that they are ſurprized with a Thaw, and carry'd away by huge Pieces of Ice, nobody knows whither. The Waywode was of Opinion, that whole Families of theſe *Behemoth* Hunters had been wafted over, upon theſe floating Pieces of Ice to the moſt Northern Parts of *America*, which lie very near that Part of *Aſia*, which jets out into the *Tartarian* Sea; and one Thing which confirm'd him in his Opinion was, that the Inhabitants of North *America*, eſpecially thoſe by the Sea Side, had the ſame Phyſiognomy with theſe Iſlanders.

THE Ancients called theſe Northern Iſlands by the Name of *Cronion*, and tho' one would think it impoſſible for Men to live in ſo cold a Climate, yet when the *Norwegians* firſt diſcovered them, they found them inhabited by a People exactly like the Deſcriptions we have of the ancient *Scythians*, *Tartars*, and *Laplanders*. *Martin Frobiſher* found Men, about the Straits that bear his Name, of an Olive Complexion, with broad Faces, flat Noſes, large Noſtrils, and others ſay they had very thin or no Beards at all, which is an exact Deſcription of the *Northern Americans*. They had no fixed Place of

* *Harris's Voy. Vol.* II. *p.* 206.

Abode, but changed their Camps, as the Seaſon of the Year, Game, Water, or Woods invited them; they were mighty Hunters of Wild Beaſts, and 'tis poſſible the Flight of theſe Beaſts over the Ice might draw them into *America*; for the Animals in *Lapland* and *North America* are very much alike, eſpecially their White Bears that feed upon Fiſh, and travel a great many Leagues on the Ice, as our Voyagers to thoſe Parts of the World aſſure us.

BUT if ſome of the Northern Nations got into *America* by the Weſt, 'tis probable that a far greater Number of People went thither by the Eaſt, where the Paſſage is ſhorter, and the Regions fuller of Inhabitants, but what the Names of thoſe Nations are, is hard to determine; we find in *America* the Names of ſeveral *European* Nations both Ancient and Modern: In the old Geography we read of the *Apalæi* and *Maſſagetæ*, from whence are deſcended (as *Hornius* conjectures) the *Apalatæi* of *Florida*, and the *Maſſacheſetæ* or *Maſſachuſets* of *New-England*. In *Vincentinus*'s *Speculum Hiſtoriarum*, Mention is made of the *Huyrones*, a Nation adjoining to the *Mogols*, from whom are deſcended the *Hurons*, an *Indian* Nation near *Canada*. The *Ungæ* were a famous Nation in *America*, whoſe Name may be derived from the *Ungæ* among the *Tartars*. The ancient *Turcæ* called by *Herodotus Jyrcæ* might be the Anceſtors of the *Iroquois*; and about *Rio de la Plata* there is a People called expreſly *Mogoles* or *Moguls*; from theſe, and other Examples of the like Nature, 'tis more than probable that ſeveral of the *Indian* Nations, are the Deſcendants of the ancient *Scythians*, *Hunns*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*.

BESIDES, if we compare the Manners and Cuſtoms of theſe Northern Nations, with thoſe of the *Indian* Savages, we ſhall find ſuch an Agreement between them, as will incline us to ſuſpect them to be of one Original. *Tacitus* gives this

Account

Account of the ancient *Fenni*, " that they were a " wild People, and miſerably poor, whoſe Cloathing " was the Skins of Beaſts; their Arms nothing " but a Bow and Arrow, which for want of Iron " they ſharpen'd with Bones; that they lived by " Hunting, fed upon Human Fleſh, but had no " Horſes among them.* " *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives much the ſame Account of the ancient " *Hunns*, adding that they have no Beards even in " Old Age; that they are a thick, ſtrong, ſhort " People, and very deformed. " Both which Deſcriptions agree ſo exactly with ſeveral Nations in the North, and the *Braſilians* in the South of *America*, that one would think they were deſigned on Purpoſe for them. Among the *Scythians* there were *Anthropophagi* or Man-Eaters, as there are among the *Indians* of *America*. The *Scythians* uſed to kill thoſe, whoſe Diſtempers were thought incurable, to put them out of their Pain; and ſo do the wild Inhabitants of *Canada*. The *Tartars* uſed to eat their Captives in the ſame manner as the *Braſilians* do; who call the Neighbourhood together, and having ſlain their Priſoners, boil or roaſt them, and give Pieces of their Fleſh to all who are preſent, to excite their Hatred and Revenge againſt their Enemies. The *Scythians* in *Cangigu* uſed to paint their Faces and Bodies, with the Images of Birds, Beaſts, Dragons, *&c.* which the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, *Florida*, and *New-England* did, when *America* was firſt diſcovered. 'Twere endleſs to mention all the particular Cuſtoms in which the *Americans* agree with the ancient *Scythians*, but theſe which I have already enumerated are ſufficient to render their Original from theſe Nations very probable.

THE Animals which were found in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery ſeem to have gone over this Way:

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* *De Mor. Ger. ad finem*

The Northern Parts of that Country abounded with Deer, Lyons, and Tygers, none of which are to be found in *Groenland* or *Nova Zembla*, but in the *Tartarian* Deſarts there are vaſt Multitudes of them; beſides a great Variety of Birds and Animals of a very ſtrange Species, not to be met with in other Parts of the World; theſe might eaſily get into *America*, the Continents joining in thoſe Parts, or being divided but by a very narrow Strait.

HORNIUS ventures to gueſs at the Time when theſe Northern Nations went into *America*; he ſuppoſes it was much later than the Voyages of the *Phœnicians*, becauſe the Northern Parts of *America* were much thinner of Inhabitants than the Southern; but this Reaſon is of little Force, becauſe it may be ſuppoſed that Perſons who lived by Hunting, and had no fix'd Habitation, tho' they came in by the North, yet might travel forward to the warm Southerly Regions, before they made a Settlement. Indeed, nothing but Neceſſity, or the Fate of War could be ſuppoſed to make Men travel ſo high into the North, as to get over the Ice into *America*; and ſuch a Neceſſity befel the Northern Nations about the Year of Chriſt 400, when their Affairs were in the utmoſt Confuſion, and the Country was ſo over-ſtock'd with Inhabitants, that they rambled all poſſible Ways for Subſiſtence, and then (according to our Author) great Numbers of them got into *America*.

A THIRD Part of the World from whence *America* might receive its Inhabitants, is *Japan* and *China*. *China* contains all that Tract of Land which lies to the South of *Cathay*, in the vaſt Region of *Mangi*; the Inhabitants of theſe Parts, tho' deſcended Originally from the *Scythians* and *Indians*, got an early Acquaintance with the Uſe of Shipping, and other Arts and Sciences from the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who made frequent Expeditions into theſe Parts. *Gonſalo Mendoza* in his Annals, tells us, that the

the *Chineze* being driven out of their Country by the *Tartars* about the Year 1268, fled into remote Iſlands with a thouſand Ships provided by their King *Facfur*; *Hornius* and others ſuppoſe they ſail'd to *America*, and ſettled in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, for upon the Diſcovery of this Country by the *Spaniards*, *Montezuma* their King told *Cortez*, "that "they themſelves were originally Strangers, and "came from the Eaſt in the Fleet of a great Fo-"reign Prince, ſo long ago that the Memory of "the Time was loſt." And foraſmuch as their Chronicles were of no ancienter a Date than three or four hundred Years, we may fairly conclude they came into the Country about that Time

BUT it muſt be allowed that the greateſt Part of the Southern Continent of *America* was inhabited long before this, from the Number of People, ſtately Towns, noble Structures, great Roads and Cauſeys, as well as the well ſettled Form of Government, that the *Spaniards* found among them. *Bertius* ſays, that there were two famous Roads from *Quito* in *Peru*, to the City of *Cuſco* of five hundred Miles in Length, one of which was carried thro' Mountains and Rocks, and the other thro' the plain Country; that at certain Diſtances on theſe Roads, there were large and pleaſant Inns for Travellers, ſome of which were capable of entertaining Kings and their Retinue; that the Road thro' the plain Country was twenty five Foot broad, and defended with Walls, within which there were Streams with Trees planted on their Banks; which the People could never be at leiſure to do within the firſt two hundred Years of their inhabiting the Country. However, theſe magnificent Structures prove their Deſcent from the *Chineze*; to which we may add, their Ceremonies of Burying the Dead; of Saluting their Princes; their Enſigns and Standards; their Way of Writing by Pictures or Characters of Things; all which are of an Eaſtern Original.

Original. Dr. *Harris*, and almoſt all the Authors who have writ about *America*, take Notice, that about *California*, the People ſpoke almoſt the ſame Language, and obſerved the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms with the *Mexicans*; and the Cuſtoms of the *Mexicans* as we have already obſerv'd, are deriv'd from the *Chineze*. Upon the whole, as 'tis highly probable that the *Northern* Parts of *America* received their Inhabitants from *Scythia* and *Tartary*, ſo I think it amounts almoſt to a Demonſtration, that the *Southern* Parts were Peopled from *China* and *Japan*; and that either by Sea, the *Chineze* being early acquainted with the Uſe of Shipping, or by Land, it being yet uncertain whether *Japan* be an Iſland, or part of the Continent of *America*: But as to the time when they went thither, and the Motives that put them upon ſo long and dangerous an Expedition, 'tis impoſſible to pronounce with any degree of Certainty concerning them.

BUT when ever this Country was peopled, it was certainly unknown for many Ages; for though ſome of *our* Inhabitants got over thither, none of *theirs* came back to us, nor did the *Europeans* dream of ſuch a new World, till *Chriſtopher Columbus* between two and three Hundred Years ago happily diſcovered it. *Columbus* was a *Genoeze* by Birth, but ſettled with his Wife and Family in *Portugal*, he was a ſober, temperate grave Man, of competent Learning, and very ſtudious in the Mathematicks. He was a good Sailor, and took Pleaſure in making Charts for Sea Service; but what the particular Motives were, which induced him to look out after this new World is not certainly known: Some think his Skill in *Geometry* and the Nature of the *Globe*, made him conclude the Poſſibility of finding Inhabitants on the other Side of it; others ſay, that *Vincent Martin*, a Pilot belonging to the King of *Portugal*, told him, that he being driven by Streſs of Weather 450 Leagues Weſt of *Cape Vincent*, took up a Piece of Wood wrought

wrought by a Man's Hand, which he fancied muſt come from ſome Weſtern Iſland; others told him that certain Pines had been caſt aſhoar at *Fayal* and *Gracioſa*, by ſtrong W. and N. W. Winds; and others, that they had ſeen two Canoos, and the like Number of dead Men, driving before the Wind on the Coaſt of *Floras*, who by their much larger Faces and different Complexions ſeem to have been Inhabitants of ſome remote, and unknown Region.

BEING thus perſwaded, that a new World lay ſome where or other ought of Sight, he made his Application to ſeveral Kings and Princes of *Europe*, to ſend him out upon Diſcoveries. He firſt offer'd his Service to the King of *Portugal*, and then to the King of *England*; but meeting with a Repulſe at both theſe Courts, he apply'd himſelf at laſt to the King of *Spain*, who, by the Perſwaſion of *John Perez*, Father Confeſſor of his Queen, was prevail'd with to fit him out three ſmall Veſſels with about 120 Men, "upon "Condition, that if he made no Diſcoveries, he "ſhould have no Reward; but if he did, that he "ſhould be Vice-Roy by Land, and Admiral by "Sea, and have the Tenths of the Profits of all "the Countries diſcovered by him, and theſe Pri-"vileges to be Hereditary to his Family." *Columbus* ſet out from *Palos*, Auguſt 2. 1492. with the Title of Admiral, the 11th they arriv'd at the *Canaries*, and ſtaid at *Gomera* till *Sept.* 6th, when they put to Sea again, and on the 11th of *October* following diſcovered the Iſland of *San Salvador*, call'd by the Inhabitants *Gavehani*, being about 950 Leagues W. of the *Canaries*: Here he landed with the Royal Standard, and took Poſſeſſion of it in the Name of their Catholick Majeſty's *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; the Natives filled with Wonder ran to the Shoar, taking the Ships and Boats for living Creatures, and ſo ignorant were they, that they put their

their Hands to the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords, not knowing they were ſharp. On the 15*th* of *October* the Admiral weighed Anchor, and ſail'd to another Iſland about ſeven Leagues diſtant, which he called *St. Maria de la Conception*; on the 17*th* he ſailed to *Fernandina*, from thence to *Iſabella*, and *Cuba*, and laſt of all to *Hiſpaniola*, where he built a Fort with the Wrecks of one of his Ships which ſtranded on the Coaſt, and left a Garriſon of 38 Men in it to maintain the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions to the Country: The Natives treated him with great Civility and Reſpect, and exchang'd the moſt valuable Effects of their Country for Glaſs Beads, and and other Trifles; but the Admiral having been now almoſt three Months in the Country, ſailed back for *Spain*, *Jan.* 4*th*, 1493. and arrived there in *March*, with the joyful Tidings of a new World, richer in Gold and Silver, than all the Kingdoms of *Europe* put together.

THUS was the Communication open'd between *Europe* and *America*, in a lucky Juncture for the *Spaniards*, whoſe Treaſury was ſo low at this Time, that the Queen was forc'd to pawn her very Jewels to raiſe Money for *Columbus*'s Expedition, but in a few Years they brought home ſuch vaſt Treaſures of Gold and Silver from the *Weſt Indies*, as made them the Richeſt Nation in the World, and advanced their Power to ſuch a Degree, as not only put them at the Head of *Europe*; but gave them a Proſpect of Eſtabliſhing an univerſal Monarchy upon the Ruin of their Neighbours.

ALL *Europe* was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at the good Fortune of the *Spaniards*; and the Courts of *England* and *Portugal*, repented heartily their ſlighting *Columbus*'s Offers: They ſaw with infinite Regret, the immenſe Treaſures which had ſlipt thro' their Fingers; and began now to fit out Ships for Expeditions into thoſe Parts, in hopes of ſharing ſome of the Treaſures of the new diſcover'd World, which

which tho' it did not ſucceed in the South, the *Spaniards* having been before them in thoſe Parts, yet anſwered their Ends in ſome Meaſure, by opening the Way to their future Settlements on the Northern Continent of *America*.

THE *French*, who will never allow any Nation to be before them, pretend this Country was firſt diſcover'd by *John Verazzan* a Florentine, who took Poſſeſſion of it in the Name of *Francis* I. in the Year 1524: That he called it *Mocoſa*, and with *Canada*, to which he gave the Name of *New France*, added it to the *French* Dominions; but this is a Fiction exploded by all Authors but their own; *Sebaſtian Cabot*, was the firſt that diſcover'd the Northern Continent of *America*, and ſail'd along the Coaſt, as high as 67 or 68 Degrees N. L. He was ſent out by King *Henry* VII. in the Year 1497, the very ſame Year that *Americus Veſpucius* diſcover'd the Southern Continent: He landed at ſeveral Places on the Coaſt, and brought home three of the Savages, whom he preſented to the King. But Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was the firſt who formed the Project of a Settlement in theſe Parts; to this End he procured ſeveral Merchants and private Gentlemen, to advance large Sums of Money, and uſed his Intereſt with his Miſtreſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, to obtain a Patent; the Patent bears date *March* 25th 1584. "and grants to Sir "*Walter Raleigh* free Liberty to Poſſeſs, Plant, and "Enjoy for himſelf, and ſuch Perſons as he ſhould "Nominate, themſelves, and their Succeſſors, all "ſuch Lands, Territories, *&c. As they ſhould diſ-* "*cover, not then in the Poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian* "*Nation.*" In *April*, the Gentlemen and Merchants, by Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Direction, fitted out two ſmall Ships under the Command of Capt. *Philip Amidas*, and Capt. *Arthur Barlow*, two of Sir *Walter*'s Servants, who knowing no better Courſe, ſail'd away for the *Canaries*, from thence to the

Caribbee

Caribbee Islands, and crossing the Gulph of *Mexico* made the Coast of *Florida*. Which by Computation of able Seamen is above a Thousand Leagues out of the Way. They anchor'd at the In-let by *Roenoke*, at present under the Government of *North Carolina*, and landed on certain Islands on the Coast between *Cape Fear* and the great Bay of *Chesapeac*: They afterwards went ashore on the Continent, in a Country call'd *Wingandacoa*, over which there reign'd a King whose Name was *Wingina*; and traded with the *Indians* for *Furs*, *Sasafras*, *Cedar*, *Tobacco*, *&c.* which they purchas'd for Toys, and Things of little Value. They brought home with them likewise some Pearl, which was taken for an evident Sign of the great Riches of the Country and gave such an advantageous Account of the Climate and Soil, that Queen *Elizabeth* was her self pleas'd to honour it with the Name of *Virginia*; tho' others say that Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave it that Name in honour of his Virgin Mistress. Under this Name was comprehended all that Tract of Land which reaches from *Norembegua* to *Florida*, and contains the Countries now known to the English by the Names of *New-England*, *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina*.

THE Success of this first Voyage encourag'd the Adventurers to attempt a second. Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself intended to command this Expedition, and carry with him a sufficient Number of Forces to compleat his Design of making a Settlement; but being at that Time jealous that his Absence might be prejudicial to his Interests at Court, which the Earl of *Leicester* sought all Occasions to lessen, he committed the Conduct of it to his Lieutenant Sir *Richard Greenville*; who on the 9th of *April* 1585. set Sail from *Plimouth* with seven Sail of Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himself, and several other Gentlemen were Members.

bers. Sir. *Richard*, for want of better Information, ſailed round by the *Caribbee Iſlands*, and arrived at *Wokokon* on the 26th of *May*, being the ſame Place where the *Engliſh* had been the Year before; in *Auguſt* following he began to plant at *Roenoke Iſland*, about 5 Leagues from the Continent, in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. He left 108 Men on the Iſland under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane* and Captain *Philip Amidas*, and returned himſelf to *England*; but after they had maintained themſelves about a Twelve-month on the Iſland, and endured inexpreſſible Hardſhips for want of freſh Supplies from *England*, the poor Remains were glad to accept of a Paſſage home in Sir *Frances Drake*'s Fleet, who was order'd by the Queen to viſit the Plantation, and ſee in what Condition their Affairs were.

A FEW Days after the breaking up of the Settlement, Sir *Richard Greenville* arriv'd with a freſh Supply of Men and Proviſions, he was amaz'd to find the Iſland deſerted, not knowing any Thing of Sir *Frances Drake*'s having been there, however he left behind him 50 Men, and 2 Years Proviſions promiſing faithfully to bring them ſpeedy and effectual Supplies, but before he returned, this little Company was murder'd by the Natives. Several other Attempts were made in the *Queen*'s Time towards a Settlement in theſe Parts, but they all miſcarried.

IN the Year 1602, *Captain Bartholomew Goſnold* fitted out a ſmall Veſſel at *Dartmouth*, with 32 Sailors, and Paſſengers for *Virginia*: He had been one of the Adventurers in a former Voyage thither, was an excellent Mariner, and conceived that there muſt be a ſhorter Cut to that Part of *America* than had hitherto been attempted, wherefore he ſteer'd a more direct Courſe, and did not ſtand ſo far to the Southward, as the former Adventurers had done, by which Means he fell in with

with the Land, in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and a few Minutes Northward, among the Iſlands that now form the North Side of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* in *New-England*; but not liking the Place, he ſteer'd to the Southward, all Night; and next Morning, when he thought himſelf clear of the Coaſt, found himſelf encloſed within a mighty Promontory or Head of Land. Here he ſtaid ſome Time trading with the *Indians* on the Coaſt for *Furs*, *Skins*, *Saſſafras*, &c. and fiſhing in the Bay, where he caught vaſt Quantities of Cod, from whence he gave it the Name of *Cape Cod*. *Cape Cod* is the moſt remarkable Point of *New-Engliſh* Land: It makes a large and commodious Bay, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships, the Entrance is about 4 Miles wide, and 'tis encompaſs'd all round, even to the very Sea with *Oaks*, *Pines*, *Juniper*, *Saſſafras*, and other ſweet Woods. Here was the greateſt Plenty of Fowls that ever they ſaw, and had they had Tackling for the Whale Fiſhery, they might have made a rich Return from thence; for they ſaw thoſe monſtrous Fiſhes playing hard by them every Day.

AT length the Captain went a Shoar upon a ſmall uninhabited Iſland, which he called *Elizabeth Iſland*, about 4 Leagues from the Main in the Latitude of 41 Degrees 10 Minutes, and built a little Fort, from whence he traffick'd with the Natives along the Coaſt.

THE firſt Body of Savages he met with, after ſigns of Peace made on both Sides, came boldly aboard him: Their Commander was dreſt with Waſtecoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockins, Hat, and all the Accoutrements of an *European*; but the reſt of the Company had only Deer-Skins about their Shoulders, and Seal Skins tied about their Waſte, their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind, and they were Painted all over,

tho'

tho' their natural ſwarthy Colour was eaſy enough to be diſcerned.

THE next Company that came to him were finer than the former, having all of them copper Pendants in their Ears; One had a Breaſt-Plate of the ſame Mettal a Foot long, and half a Foot broad; another had his Head ſtuck full of Feathers, that rendred him a frightful Figure; they were a ſly theeviſh Sort of People, but the *Captain* knew well enough how to deal with them; he made a very ſucceſsful Voyage, and upon his return home, gave ſuch an advantageous Account of the Country, and of the civil Treatment he met with from the Natives, that the Merchants began once more to think of a Settlement in thoſe Parts, and the Captain ſollicited the Matter ſo effectually with the Court of King *James* that ſeveral Gentlemen engaged in it, and the King incorporated 2 Companies in one Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April* 1606. The firſt were allowed to ſettle themſelves at any Place on the Coaſt of *Virginia* between the Degrees of 34 and 41. N. L. The other between the Degrees of 38 and 45. Each had Liberty to ſtretch themſelves 100 Miles along the Coaſts, and 100 Miles within Land, but not to Plant within 100 Miles of each other. In this laſt Patent was included *New England*, *New York*, *New Jerſey*, *New Penſilvania*, as they are now divided into ſeveral Provinces, but the whole Country was then called *Virginia*, and was no otherwiſe diſtinguiſh'd for ſome Time after, than by the Names of *North* and *South Virginia*.

THE Proprietors of the Patent for *South Virginia*, began their Settlement, the very ſame Year with the Date of it. They fitted out two Ships under the Command of Captain *Newport*, with whom went the honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Capt. *Goſnoll*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*

field a Miniſter, and abundance of Handicraft Tradeſmen; they fell in with the Coaſt near Cape *Henry* the Southermoſt Point of the Bay *Cheſeapeac*, and rais'd a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*, now *James River*; here they left 100 Men with Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries for a Settlement, who made a Shift to maintain themſelves on the Place, and the next Year built *James Town* about 50 Miles up the River: From theſe ſmall Beginnings, the Plantation of *Virginia* has riſen to that Figure it has ſince made in the *Britiſh* Commerce.

SIR *John Popham* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Governor of *Plymouth* Fort, and ſeveral other Weſt-Country Gentlemen and Merchants, Proprietors of the Patent for *North-Virginia*, fitted out a Ship the ſame Year with 30 Men under the Command of *Henry Challons*, to make a Diſcovery of that Country, they ſet out in *Auguſt*, but being got as far as the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Iſlands they fell in with a Fleet of *Spaniſh* Ships who took them Priſoners, and after a great deal of ill Uſage carried them into *Spain*, where they were treated after a very cruel and inhumane Manner this Misfortune damp'd the Courage of the firſt Adventurers, but the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham* quickly after ſent out another Ship at his own Charge under the Command of Capt. *Hanam*, who brought back ſuch an encouraging Account of the Country, that the Proprietors who were fallen off reſolved to make a ſecond Adventure; they fitted out two Ships with 100 Men, Ordinance, Stores, and all Neceſſaries for a Plantation, under the Command of Capt. *Popham* and Capt. *Gilbert* in the Year 1608, who began a Settlement upon the Banks of the River *Sagadahock* in *Norembegua*, but before the Return of the Ships, the Lord Chief Juſtice, who was the Life of the Enterprize, died; the Planters however built a Fort which they call'd

call'd by the Name of *St. George*, but could not be perſuaded to ſtay in the Country after Capt. *Popham* was dead, and Capt. *Gilbert* declared his Reſolution to return to *England* to take Poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, which fell to him by the Death of his Elder Brother; ſo they all broke up, and came away for *England*.

BUT the Trade turn'd to ſo good an Account, by reaſon of the *Fiſh*, *Furrs*, and other Commodities of the Country, that the Merchants were continually fitting out Ships to traffick with the Natives. In the Year 1614, * four Gentlemen, Capt. *Roydon*, Capt. *Langham*, Mr. *Bully*, and Mr. *Skelton*, fitted out two Ships at their own Charges for the *Weſt-Indies*; Capt. *John Smith*, who had been Preſident of the Colony of *South-Virginia*, was Commander of the one; and *Tho. Hunt* of the other; Capt. *Smith* falling in with the Land about the Iſland *Monahigan* traded with the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts; and while his Men were fiſhing upon the Coaſts, he travelled up into the Country, with only eight Men, and drew a Plan of it, which he preſented to Prince *Charles*, who gave it the Name of *NEW-ENGLAND*, and was pleas'd at the Captain's Requeſt to give *Engliſh* Names to the moſt remarkable Places in the Country; the *Maſſachuſets* River, he called *Charles* River; the Harbour of *Cape Cod*, *Milford-Haven*; and the *Cape* it ſelf *Cape James*; *Accominticus*, he called *Boſton*; *Aggawom*, *Southampton*; and ſo to the Number of about 30 Places, a Liſt of which the Reader may ſee in *Smith's Voyages*, *Lib.* VI. *p.* 205. The Captain made his Voyage out and home in about ſix Months, and got about 1500 Pounds for his Principals, by the Sale of his *Otter*, *Beaver-Skins*, *Salt-Fiſh*, *Train-Oil*, and other Commodities.

* *Capt.* Smith's *Voyages*, *Book* VI. *p.* 204.

BUT when Capt. *Smith* was gone; *Hunt*, the Commander of the other Veſſel, which was bound for *Spain* in her Way home, enticed between 20 and 30 of the Natives aboard him, and contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Publick Faith, clapt them under Hatches, and ſold them to the *Spaniards* at *Malaga* on his own Account; his Owners cenſured this Part of his Conduct ſeverely, and upon his Arrival in *England* diſcharged him their Service; but the *Indians* reſented this Piece of Treachery ſo highly, that they reſolved to be revenged on the next *Engliſh* that came upon the Coaſt. Capt. *Hobſon* was the unhappy Man who was diſpatch'd the next Spring with Men, Arms, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries for a Settlement; upon the Ship's Arrival, many of the *Indians* came aboard, and were kindly entertain'd by the Captain; at their Departure they promiſed to return next Day with ſome Trade; they came accordingly with 20 Canoes, but refuſed to come aboard. *Epenow* an *Indian* that the Captain had brought with him as an Interpreter beckoned to them to come near, and immediately leapt into the Water and ſwam to them; upon which the *Engliſh* fired upon him, and the *Indians* from their Canoes let fly their Arrows at the Ship; and carried off their Countryman, notwithſtanding all the Attempts of the *Engliſh* to recover him; ſeveral of the *Indians* were kill'd in the Skirmiſh, and the Maſter of the *Engliſh* Veſſel, and ſome of his Company were wounded; which diſcouraged them ſo much, that they return'd to *England*, bringing back nothing with them, but the ſad News of a War with the *Indians*.

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* *Increaſe Mather's Troubles of* New-England, Boſton 1677, *p.* 2.

IN the Year 1619, Mr. *Dormer* was ſent to proſecute the Deſign of planting and ſettling a Trade in *New-England*, and to endeavour to make Peace with the *Indians*; he brought *Squanto* one of the *Indians* that *Hunt* had carried away from *Patuxet* along with him, but tho' *Squanto* did what he could to pacify his Countrymen, telling them that *Hunt* was a Villain, and that his Treachery had been condemn'd by the *Engliſh*, yet they could not forgive it, but watched their Opportunity, and gave *Dormer* 14 Wounds, ſo that he had much ado to eſcape with his Life: hereupon he ſailed away for *Virginia*, but left *Squanto* behind him.

THE *Pattentees* having met with ſo many Diſappointments, laid aſide all farther Thoughts of ſending Colonies into theſe Parts, and therefore made Grants of ſmall Parcels of Land on the Northern Parts of *New-England* to private Adventurers, who ſettled ſmall Factories in the Summer-Time to aſſiſt their Merchant-Men in trading with the *Indians*; but a Settlement was not ſo much as thought of, till Mr. *John Robinſon*, and Mr. *William Brewſter*, the former an Independent Miniſter, the latter a Ruling Elder in the ſame Church, both of them, with ſeveral of their Diſciples and Followers, driven out of *England* for their Religion, in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, and living now at *Leyden*, bravely accompliſh'd it; as the Reader will ſee in the next Chapter.

IN the mean time, it will be proper to give ſome Account of the Country, and obſerve the Civil and Religious Policy of the *Natives*, with their Cuſtoms and Manners before the *Engliſh* ſettled among 'em.

THE *Natives* apprehended *New-England* to be an Iſland, and went ſo far as to tell the very Name of that Inlet of the Sea that parts it from the Main Land of *Virginia*, this Inlet they call'd *Mohegon*, and conſtantly affirm'd that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*

paſs'd that Way between the two Countries, and drove a great Trade; for the Confirmation of this Opinion of the Natives, 'tis alledged that they had no Knowledge of the neighbouring Country of *Virginia*, tho' it be not above 150 Leagues from them; that they never heard of *Powhatan* the great Prince of thoſe Parts, nor of the *Engliſh* Plantation there, till they were inform'd of it by the *Engliſh* themſelves, but later Diſcoveries have ſufficiently confuted this Opinion.

NEW-ENGLAND was inhabited by 20 or 30 different *Nations*, the moſt conſiderable of which we ſhall meet with in the following Hiſtory, tho' the Names of many of them are not ſo much as mention'd by the Modern Hiſtorians.

THE *Maſſachuſets* were the moſt populous of all the *Indian* Nations, and the moſt civiliz'd, which was owing chiefly to their dwelling upon the Coaſts, and trading with the ſeveral Nations of *Europe*; but the Plague and Small-Pox had thinn'd 'em very much a little before the *Engliſh* took Poſſeſſion of their Country; they inhabited thoſe Parts which now make the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middleſex*, and have the Honour to give Name to the chief Colony of *New-England*.

THE *Neumkeaks* inhabited the adjacent Country, which now makes the County of *Eſſex*. Here the *Maſſachuſet* Colony made their firſt Settlement, and built the Town of *Salem*.

THE *Narrhaganſets* were a very formidable People, and maintain'd themſelves againſt the growing Power of the *Engliſh* longer than any of their Neighbours; they inhabited the Parts about *New-London* County.

THE *Pocaſſets* inhabited the Parts to the Southward of the *Maſſachuſets* along the Coaſt; it was within the Territories of this Nation, that the firſt Colony of *New-Plymouth* ſeated themſelves, but the

the Country had been ſome time before in a manner depopulated by the Plague.

THE *Pequots* were a fierce and cruel People, they made a noble Stand againſt the United Force of *New-England* in the Year 1637, and would certainly have defended their Country againſt the Encroachments of the *Engliſh*, if the *Narrhaganſets* their inveterate Enemies had not aſſiſted the *Engliſh* to deſtroy them. They were ſeated on a navigable River 12 Miles Eaſtward of the Mouth of the great River *Connecticut*; and did whatever lay in their Power to prevent the *Engliſh* from ſettling on the Banks of it.

THE *Maſſaſoiets* or *Wompanoags* lived about Mount *Hope* in *New-Briſtol* County; *Old Maſſaſoiet* was a faithful Friend and Ally of the *Engliſh*; he bid them welcome into the Country upon their firſt landing, and did them all the kind Offices they deſired; but his Succeſſors *Alexander* and *Philip* were the moſt daring Enemies that ever they met with, the latter had Policy enough to engage all the *Indian* Nations in a War, which exhauſted the beſt Blood and Treaſure of the *Engliſh*, and if Providence had not ſtrangely interpos'd, would probably have driven them out of the Country, above 50 Years after they had taken Poſſeſſion of it.

THE *Moratiggons* were ſeated to the Weſtward of the *Maſſaſoiets*.

THE *Patuxets* between the Counties of *New-London* and *New-Briſtol*.

THE *Maquas* Weſtward of *Connecticut* River, near *New-Albany*; the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of this powerful Nation retriev'd the *Engliſh* Affairs, when they were come to a Criſis in the War with *Philip* King of the *Wompanoags*. Dr. *Mather* gives a ſurpriſing Relation of their Courage and Valour, he ſays, that they were *Man-Eaters*, and being ſupply'd with *Fire-Arms* before their Neighbours, they had deſtroy'd above two Millions of Natives

inhabiting the Country between them, and the River *Miſſiſippi*. Theſe *Maquas* are commonly known by the Name of *Mohegins* or *Mohawks*, for the River now known by the Name of *Hudſon's* River, was formerly call'd the *Mohegin* River.

THE *Manimoys* inhabited *Barnſtable* County; the *Nianticks*, *Mattachieſts*, *Namaskets*, poſſeſs'd the Inland Country between *Providence* and *Merrimack* River; the *Marchicans*, and *Sequems* were in *Hampſhire* about 20 Miles from the Coaſt; the *Novaſii* and *Horakaſi* lay farther within Land, about *Connecticut* River.

THUS the Country was canton'd into a great many little Kingdoms and Governments; for every *Sachem* or *Sagamore*, who was Lord of a Territory about 8 or 10 Miles in Length, erected his Lands into a Kingdom, and gave a Name to his Nation.

Deſcription of the Indians.

THE *Indians* of *New-England* are of an Olive Complexion, and flat Noſed, their Hair is black, which they cut ſhort before, but ſuffer to grow very long behind, and ſometimes dreſs up in a very antick Faſhion with Feathers; they have no Beards, but are generally tall, proper, ſtout Men; they go naked in the Summer, except about their Waſte, which they cover with a Piece of Leather; but in Winter, they cloath themſelves with Deer-Skins, which they throw about them like a Mantle. Some of them have Breeches, Stockins, and Shoes, all in one Piece made of the ſame Materials; in Winter when the Snow will bear, they put on Snow-Shoes, which are made like a large *Tennis Racket*, and lace them to their Feet with Deers Guts. They paint themſelves all over; their Faces and Shoulders with a deep Red, and their Bodies with a Variety of ugly, miſhapen Figures, and he is the braveſt Fellow that has the moſt frightful Forms drawn upon him, and looks moſt terrible. The Ornaments of their Women, beſides the Painting of their Bodies, are a ſort of Ear-Rings of Copper

or

or Beads; Bracelets about their Arms, and Chains about their Legs.

THE Men are of a ſlothful Temper, putting all the Slavery upon their Wives, who not only take Care of their Children, but manage all Domeſtick Affairs; they plant, reap, houſe [illegible] threſh all their Corn; they build their Houſes, and attend their Husbands as their Lords; the only Employment of the Men is Hunting and Fiſhing; when Proviſion is low, they go out into the Wood 50 or 100 in a Company with their Bows and Arrows, and bring in a freſh Supply, or ſail down the Rivers in their Canoes to catch Fiſh. In the Spring they catch *Lobſters*, *Clams*, &c. and afterwards *Baſs*, *Cod*, *Rock*, *Blue-Fiſh*, *Salmon*, and *Lampus*. The *Lobſters* they take in large Bags at low Water, with a Staff 2 or 3 Yards long, made ſmall and ſharpen'd at one End, with Notches to take hold; when they ſee the *Lobſter* crawling in 2 Fathom Water, they ſtick him towards the Head, and bring him up; Mr. *Joſſelyn* ſays, he has known 30 *Lobſters* taken after this manner by an *Indian* Lad in an Hour and half. *Baſs*, *Blue-Fiſh*, and *Sturgeon*, they ſtrike with a ſort of Dart made of Wood, and ſharpen'd with a Fiſh-Bone, to the End of which they tye a String, with which they drag the Fiſh to Shoar. At all other Times, except when they are at War, they indulge themſelves in Idleneſs and Sloth. One would wonder, that in ſo many Ages as muſt have run out ſince their firſt inhabiting the Country, no active Spirit ſhould riſe up to encourage Arts and Induſtry among them; they live in a Country full of Copper and Iron Mines, and yet were never Owners of ſo much as a Knife till the *Engliſh* came among 'em; their Name for an *Engliſhman* is a *Knife-Man*; their Country is ſtock'd with the beſt Timber for

Their Diſpoſition and Way of Living.

Shipping

Shipping in the World, yet they never made any Improvement of it, beyond their Canoes wrought out of the Trunks of Trees made hollow by Fire, or made of the Bark of the Birch-Tree, ſtrengthen'd with little Circles of Wood like Hoops, and pitch'd with a Mixture of Turpentine and Roſin, which are ſo very light, that they can eaſily carry them over Land from one River to another. They are about 8 or 9 Paces long, and half ſo broad in the Middle, but growing narrower towards the End. They never ſaw a Ship or Sail, till ſome came thither from *Europe*. Nay, ſuch is the Slothfulneſs of theſe barbarous Savages, that when they have burnt up all the Wood, in the Neighbourhood of the Place where they have pitch'd their Tents, rather than be at the Pains to fetch it in from a little farther Diſtance, they pluck up their Stakes and follow the Wood.

Their Houſes.

THE *Indian* Houſes, or *Wigwams*, are very ſorry Buildings; they are made of young and tender Trees bent down like an Arbour, cover'd on the Top with the Bark of Trees, and on the Sides with thick and well wrought † Mats made of Ruſhes; the Doors are but a Yard high, or thereabouts, one opens to the North, the other to the South, and according as the Wind ſets they cloſe up one Door with Bark, and hang a Deer-Skin or Mat before the other. The Chimneys are wide Holes in the Top of the Building, which they cover with Mats in cold Weather. All is warm and cloſe in the Winter, for the Houſes are matted both without and within; in the midſt of them are four little Stakes knockt into the Ground, with Sticks laid a-croſs, upon which they hang their Pots; their Beds are ſo many Mats ſpread round

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* *Joſſelyn's Voyages to* New-England, *Ed.* Lond. 1674. *p.* 126.

about

about the Fire-Place; for as the Fire keeps them warm in the Day, ſo they keep that warm in the Night. They have no Towns or Villages, but conſiderable Bodies of 'em clan together in a Place till they have burnt up all the Wood thereabouts, and then they change their Quarters.

THEIR ordinary Food is plain and ſimple, for when Fiſhing and Hunting fails, they live upon nothing but *Nokohick*, that is a Spoonful of Parcht Meal with a Spoonful of Water, in the Strength of which they'll travel a whole Day together; they delight in the Fleſh of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Rackoons*, but of all their Animals, the *Moſs* is the greateſt Rarity; this Beaſt is as big as an Ox, has a Head and Neck like a red Deer, but his Hair is long like an Elk, and he has a ſhort Mane that runs down his Back a conſiderable Way; under the the Throat hangs down a great Bunch which is of a dark Colour, the Legs are very long, and ſo is the Tail, which reaches down almoſt to the Heels, and the Feet are as large every Way as an Ox's; the Fleſh is excellent good Meat, and the Natives dry it, and keep it all the Year round, for they were not acquainted with the Uſe of Salt till the *Engliſh* brought it among them; the Skin makes a very ſubſtantial Buff, and ſerves for a Garment of extraordinary Warmth and Defence. But their Feaſts are the Bane and Ruin of their Stomachs, at which they value themſelves upon leaving nothing; their Victuals are either boil'd or roaſted, and they lap great Quantities of the Broth both of Fleſh and Fiſh; their Fleſh is little more than half dreſs'd, but their Fiſh is always over boil'd. *Their Food.*

THEIR Health is firm, notwithſtanding they uſe no Caution to preſerve it; but on the Contrary uſe violent Exerciſe in Hunting, and in their Warlike

Warlike Expeditions; they are unacquainted with a great many Diſeaſes that afflict the *Europeans*, ſuch as the *Palſy*, *Dropſy*, *Gout*, *Phthiſick*, *Aſthma*, *Gravel* and *Stone*, but the Diſeaſes which prove moſt fatal to them are the *Pluriſie* which all their Remedies can't conquer, and the *Small Pox*, which ſweeps away vaſt Multitudes of them, for want of due Care and Attendance. *

Method of Curing the Sick.

INDEED their Skill in Phyſick is very indifferent, for excepting two or three *Noſtrums* which they apply in certain Caſes, they have but two Remedies for the Sick, the Hot-houſe, or the *Powaw*, or Prieſt; their Hot-houſe is a little Cave of about eight Foot over, which they heat very hot, and then go in it, and ſweat and ſmoke for about an Hour, after which they come out, and plunge themſelves in an adjacent River; if this does not cure them, they ſend for the *Powaw*, or Prieſt, who Howls, and Roars, and Performs ſeveral Magical Ceremonies, playing a Thouſand Antick Tricks over the diſeas'd Perſon, who all the while the Invocation laſts ſhews his Conſent to it, by ſome few Words dropt every now and then, and ſometimes by breaking out into a Strain of Muſick along with the *Powaw*: If there be a Wound in the Caſe, after the Noiſes, Screechings, and Jabberings are over, he licks it, and at the ſame time gives the Patient ghoſtly Advice; if the *Powaw* finds his Caſe hopeful, he tells him that *Hobbamoko* ſent his Diſtemper upon him, for ſome Offence or other, who if he calls upon him in his Diſtreſs will ſend him Relief: But if the Caſe be deſperate, he then ſays that *Kichtan* is angry, and all Diſeaſes inflicted by him are incurable.

* *La Hontan in* Harris's *Voyages.* p. 925.

WHEN

WHEN they have any dead People to diſpoſe of out of the Way, they take inſtead of Shovels and Pickaxes, great Stakes made ſharp at one End, and dig a Hole in the Ground, in which they lay a Parcel of Sticks a-croſs, then wrapping up the Corps in Skins and Matts they lay it upon the Sticks, and all the dead Perſon's Treaſure with him, they then raiſe a Mount of Earth over all; And while this is doing the Friends of the deceas'd expreſs their Concern by hideous Screeks and Howlings. When the firſt *Engliſh* Colony were looking out a Place for a Settlement, they found ſeveral *Indian* Graves, one of which they open'd; the outſide Covering was Boards, under which was a Matt; next to that were Bowls, Trays, Diſhes, and then another Matt, under which was a Board about three quarters long finely Painted and Carv'd; to this ſucceeded another Matt, under which were two Bundles that promis'd ſomething more Curious; the greater of theſe Bundles being open'd, diſcovered a large Quantity of a very fine and perfectly red Powder, of a ſtrong, but no offenſive Smell, and in this were the Bones and Skull of a Man, the latter of which had fine Yellow Hair upon it, and ſome of the Fleſh unconſumed; together with theſe Relicks there was in the ſame Bundle a Knife, a Pack-Needle, and two or three old Iron Things, all which was pack'd up in a Sailor's Canvaſs Caſſock, and a Pair of Cloth Breeches; in the leſs Bundle there was the ſame ſort of Powder, and the Head and Bones of a Child, about the Legs and other Parts of which, were Strings and Chains of white Beads, and by it was laid a Bow of about three Quarters long, with ſome other odd Nicknacks. *Their Funerals.*

THEIR

THEIR Mournings for the Dead continue for ſeveral Days, Night and Morning, in which all the Friends of the Deceaſed bear a Part. In the Southern Parts of the Country, the Women black over their Faces with a Mixture of Coal and Oil: When the Body is laid in the Ground they make a wretched doleful Noiſe, ſomething like that which is made by Cats when any Number of them get together. If a ſick Perſon happens to recover, there is a mighty Joy; and becauſe Sickneſs is always chargeable, when his Friends come to congratulate him upon his Recovery, they bring Gifts in their Hands to help repair his Loſs.

Mournings for the Dead.

THE laudable Cuſtom of paying a Reverence to old Age is ſtrictly obſerv'd, by all the *Indians* in theſe Parts. The younger Perſons will even do all mean Offices to excuſe the Elder, tho' they are Strangers, and have no manner of Acquaintance with them; but let a Man have never ſo many Years over his Head, yet he is not counted a *Man*, till he has ſignalized his Valour in ſome laudable Action worthy the Notice and Reſpect of all his Acquaintance.

Reverence to Old Age.

THEIR Diviſion of Time is by Sleeps, and Moons, and Winters, and by Lodging abroad; they have made ſome little Obſervation of the Stars, and as I obſerv'd before always call *Charles's Wain*, by the Name of *Paukunnawaw*, or the Bear, which is the Name by which the *Europeans* have diſtinguiſh'd it. They have no Records, or Memorials of the Exploits of their Anceſtors, nor is it poſſible they ſhould, becauſe they were not acquainted with the Uſe of Letters, tho' Dr. *Mather* ſays, there is a Rock or two in the Coun-

Diviſion of Time.

try

try that has unaccountable Characters engrav'd upon it: But to ſupply this Defect, as well as they can, they dig deep Holes in the Ground, in the Place where any memorable Action has been perform'd, which they take care to preſerve from being filled up; ſo that as a Man travels the Country, if he can but underſtand his Guide, he may learn the Hiſtory of their Affairs.

I have not obſerv'd any Revolution of Time which they account Sacred; all Days are alike with them, which is a little Strange, ſince there are great Numbers of Prieſts, and among ſome of the Nations, Houſes that look like Temples; but this Cuſtom is generally taken Notice of, that in Times of very great Want and Scarcity they offer up extraordinary Devotions to their Gods, and when they have triumph'd over their Enemies, or gather'd in the Fruits of the Fields, they appoint a Feſtival, wherein Men, Women, and Children, meet together to ſing and dance round about a rouzing Fire in the Fields, for four or five Hours together.*

Religion.

THE Natives of *New-England*, believe not only a Plurality of Gods who made and govern the ſeveral Nations of the World, but they make Deities of every Thing they imagine to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful to Mankind. There is with them, one God in the *Sun*, and another in the *Moon*, *&c.* They believe *Fire* to be a kind of God, inaſmuch as a Spark of it produces ſuch remarkable Effects, and becauſe *Thunder* and *Lightning* are very terrible, they pay divine Honours to them. But tho' the *Indians* acknowledge a great Variety of Divine Powers, yet they conceive one Almighty Being who dwells in the *South Weſt* Re-

* *Harris's Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 847.

gions

gions of the Heavens, to be Superior to all the Reſt; this Almighty Being they call *Kichtan*, or *Kawtantowit*, who at firſt according to their Tradition made a Man and Woman out of a Stone, but upon ſome Diſlike deſtroy'd them again; and then made another Couple out of a Tree, from whom deſcended all the Nations of the Earth; but how they came to be ſcatter'd and diſpers'd into Countries ſo remote from one another, they can't tell. They believe their Supreme God to be a *Good Being*, and pay a ſort of Acknowledgment to him for Plenty, Victory, and other Benefits.

THE Rev. Mr. *Mahew*, gives this Account of the *Indians* of *Martha's* Vineyard; "That they "worſhipp'd many falſe Gods, both in Heaven, "Earth and Sea; That they had their Men Gods, "their Women Gods, their Children Gods, "Gods for their Animals, and for the Fruits of "the Earth; That they had a great Veneration "for the *Devil*, and endeavour'd to pacify him by "their Sacrifices; to him they addreſs'd for the "Cure of their Diſeaſes, and for Counſel in all "difficult Caſes; having only an obſcure Notion "of a God greater than all, whom they called "*Mannit*, but they knew not what he was, and "therefore knew not how to worſhip him.

THE Immortality of the Soul, and a future State is univerſally believ'd among them; when Good Men die, they ſay their Souls go to *Kichtan*, where they meet their Friends, have ſplendid Entertainments, and enjoy all Manner of Pleaſures; when wicked Men die, they go to *Kichtan Habitation* too, and Knock at the Door, but they have no Anſwer from him but *Quachet*, that is, *Walk away*, and ſo they wander about in reſtleſs Diſcontent and Horror for ever; when ſome of the

† *Letter to the Corporation, for propagating the Goſpel*, Oct. 23. 1652. page 2.

Engliſh

Engliſh have talk'd with 'em of the Reſurrection of the Body, All the Anſwer they could get from them was, that it was impoſſible, and that *they ſhould never believe it.*

THEY acknowledge their Supream Deity *Kichtan* to be altogether inviſible, and their *Prieſts* do not ſo much as pre- *Their Deities.* tend to have ſeen him at any time; but there is another *Power* which they call *Hobbamocko*, in *Engliſh* the *Devil*; who ſcruples not, as the *Prieſts* ſay, to appear to them in different Forms, ſometimes in the Shape of a Man, ſometimes of a Deer, and an Eagle, but moſt commonly in the Form of a Snake; to him they apply in all difficult Caſes, for the curing of Diſeaſes, and removing Publick Judgments, and the People ſtand in greater Awe of him than of *Kichtan* himſelf. The People are vaſtly ambitious, of the Honour of a Sight of this *Hobbamocko*, but he never appears but to the *Powaws* or *Prieſts*, and the *Panieſe*, or Counſellors of State, that is, to the Men of Intrigue and Deſign, whoſe Buſineſs it is to keep the People in Awe; and according to the Accounts our *Engliſh* give of the Matter, the very Notion of this *Evil Being* was put into the Peoples Heads with no other Deſign. But is it not ſtrange, that People by the Power of Prieſtcraft, or any other Device ſhould be diverted and drawn away from the Worſhip of a *Good Being*, who governs the World, and is the Author of all the Benefits of Life, to the Worſhip of an *Evil One*, meerly from a Principle of Dread and Terror, leſt in his Anger he ſhould ſend worſe Mi[illegible]chiefs upon them than thoſe which at preſent they lie under? as Slaves do Homage to their cruel Maſters, not becauſe they love them, but leſt by ſuch a Neglect, their Servitude ſhould be made more intolerable. But to make this Doctrine go down the better with the People, the Prieſts have taken Care to repreſent their *Kichtan*

as an inexorable Being, that is, one whoſe Decrees are irreverſible, ſo that if he ſends an Affliction or Diſeaſe upon a Man 'tis incurable; all Medicines will be ineffectual, and all Applications to him, or any other Being inſignificant. But *Hobbamocko* is repreſented as one who by Sacrifices and Prayers may be appeas'd. Thus theſe Impoſtors give the People a far worſe Notion of God Almighty than of the Devil. Many of the *Indians* have declared, that within their Memories the Good Being *Kichtan* was much more invoked than at preſent. But our *Engliſh* Planters now tell us, from the Confeſſions of the *Indians* themſelves, that the Worſhip of him is almoſt worn out among them. In ſhort, the *Genius* of the People leads them to worſhip any Thing that is above them in Power, and able to do them any Hurt. Theſe are their Deities, and they expreſs a Reverence for them accordingly; hence *Fire*, *Water*, *Thunder* and *Lightning*; nay, even the *Horſes*, and *great Guns* and *Muſquets* of the *Engliſh* were at firſt worſhip'd by ſome of them; but the chief Object of their Worſhip, as I obſerv'd before, is *Hobbamocko*.

Sacrifices.

THE moſt Zealous of all the *Indians* in their Religious Superſtitions were the *Narrhaganſets*: They have large ſpacious Houſes in the Nature of Temples, which are frequented only by the *Powaws*, except at their Publick Solemnities, when vaſt Crouds of People reſort thither, and offer the beſt of their Treaſures in Sacrifice; as *Skins*, *Hatchets*, *Kettles*, and the like, all theſe are thrown by the Prieſts into the midſt of a great Fire, and burnt to Aſhes; thoſe that offer moſt liberally towards theſe Sacrifices are eſteem'd the wiſeſt and moſt devout Men, and ſo reputable is it to be open-handed in the Caſe, that the *Indians* about *Plymouth-Town* told the *Engliſh*, they wiſh'd for their Sakes that their Governours would appoint the like Sacrifices among them.

THEIR

THEIR *Powaws* or Prieſts, are a ſubtile Generation of Men, Ambitious, Cruel, greedy of Riches, graſping at an abſolute Power and Dominion over the People, from whom they require a profound Reſpect, and Reverence, as Perſons who have a familiar Acquaintance with the Deity, and who by their Bleſſings and Curſings, can make Men happy or miſerable in a future State. The People certainly believe that they can raiſe the Devil, and make him do whatever they bid him, except the ſuperior Deity *Kichtan* interpoſes; Dr. *C. Mather* ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion, by the Examples he gives us of their ſupernatural Influence on humane Affairs. He tells us "that "they often kill'd Perſons; cauſed Lameneſs and "Impotency,* and ſhew'd their Art in performing ſeveral other things beyond humane, by a "diabolical Skill; and this either by deſiring the "Spirit they convers'd with, to do the Miſchief "they intended, or by forming a Piece of Leather like an Arrow-Head, tying a Hair thereto; or uſing ſome Bone, as of Fiſh, *&c.* over "which they performed certain Ceremonies and "then diſmiſs'd 'em to accompliſh their Deſires: "And ſuch enchanted things (ſays he) have moſt "certainly either enter'd the Bodies of thoſe "whom they intended to afflict, or the Devil has "form'd the like within their Fleſh without any "outward Breach of the Skin, which we have "good Reaſon to believe; the *Powaws* acknowledging it, and ſuch things having been taken "out of the Fleſh of the afflicted, or by the "ſeizing ſomething of the *Spirit* (as the Devil "made them think) of ſuch they intended to "torment or kill, while it wandred in their Sleep:

The Character of their Powaws or Prieſts.

* *B.* VI. *p.* 52.

" This they kept being in Form of a Fly closely " impriſon'd, and according as they dealt with " this, ſo it far'd with the Body it belong'd to." The *Doctor* goes on to give ſome Examples, of the Power of theſe *Powaws* to do Miſchief to Perſons, and cure them when they had done; " An " *Indian* of *Martha's* Vineyard (ſays he) whoſe " Name was *George*, having been tormented and " now wholly Impotent, his Friends adviſed him " to the *Powaws*, for a Cure; they being met and " dancing round about a great Fire, the Sick " Perſon lying by, ſome of the Neighbours en- " ter'd the Houſe, being perſuaded that a great " *Powaw* now called to cure, had bewitch'd the " Sick; they threaten him that unleſs he would " cure the Sick Man, they would burn him in " that Fire; after many excuſes too long here to " relate, they took him up, reſolving at leaſt to " ſinge him a little; who no ſooner felt the Heat " of the Fire near him, but the Sick immediately " recovered.

ANOTHER Relation which the Doctor had from Captain *Thomas Dagget* Eſq; now deceas'd, and *Richard Sarſon* Eſq; Juſtices of the Peace, he gives as follows: " The Juſtice being on an " Iſland, where a bewitch'd Woman lay in great " Extremity, and wholly Impotent, the *Powaws* " there having without Succeſs endeavour'd her " Cure; the Relations ſent to *Martha's* Vineyard " for more famous *Powaws*, and the Juſtices were " admitted to be preſent on certain Conditions: " The *Powaws* went to dancing, and uſing cer- " tain Ceremonies uſual in ſuch Caſes: One of " the *Powaws* pray'd to his God, with ſuch ar- " dent Deſires and Fervency, that Captain *Dag-* " *get* told me, had it been to the true God, it had " been a Prayer exceeding moſt he had ever heard; " The Iſſue was, that they caught the *Spirit* in a " Deer-Skin (as they ſaid) which entered the " Woman;

" Woman; this, they ſaid, was the Spirit of an " Engliſhman drowned in the adjacent Sound: " Yet it was then ſuppos'd the *Powaw* was by, " who bewitch'd her: The Iſſue was, ſhe im- " mediately recover'd: But the *Powaw* told her, " unleſs ſhe remov'd to *Martha's* Vineyard, ſhe " would again be ſick for being an Engliſh Spirit " he could not long confine it."* Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* of *Martha's* Vineyard, was likewiſe of the ſame Opinion; " the Miſchief (ſays he) that " the *Powaws* and Devils uſually do to the com- " mon Indians, is both by outward and bodily " Hurt, and inward Pain, Torture, and Diſtraction " of Mind; both which I have ſeen my ſelf. To " accompliſh the firſt, the Devil does abuſe the " real Body of a Serpent which comes directly to " the Man either in the Houſe or Field, looming " or having a Shadow about him like a Man, and " Shoots a Bone (as they ſay) into the *Indians* " Body which ſometimes kills him."

I SHALL leave the Reader to paſs what Judgment he pleaſes upon theſe Relations; but in my Opinion they are ſo far from proving the Doctrine they are brought to ſupport, that they carry in them the greateſt Air of Juggle and Impoſture in the World.

MANY of the devout *Indians* dedicate their Children to the Gods, and educate them to the Prieſthood, by debarring them from Sleep, and makeing them obſerve a certain Diet, *&c.* but of thoſe who are thus dedicated, there are but few (according to their own Confeſſions) who obtain this high Dignity of a familiar Converſe with the World of Spirits; nor are all the *Powaws* alike ſucceſsful in their Addreſſes to their Deities; nor do their Incantations and Ceremonies always ſuc-

* *Letter to the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel*, 1652. *p.* 4.

ceed; however the People are kept in awe by them, and on all Occaſions pay them a profound Reſpect, and Veneration.

THERE is one Perquiſite of the Clergy, which I can't find the *Powaws* of *New-England* have any Concern in, and that is their Marriages. The *Indians* keep a great many Concubines which they chooſe according to Appetite and Fancy, and turn away again when they pleaſe for the ſame Reaſon, but they have one Wife, who is the ſupream Governeſs of the Family, and is kept during her Life, the Conſent of the *Sachem* is always ask't in the Affairs of Matrimony, and 'tis he that joins their Hands together. No *Sachem* will take a Wife, that is not of a Birth equal to his. When a Woman leaves a ſingle Life, She cuts off her Hair, and wears a Sort of a Veil upon her Head, till her Hair is grown again. The Time of War is a Time of general Releaſe to all Women that are uncomfortably yok'd, for if a Woman has either a bad Husband, or one ſhe can't love, ſhe takes that Opportunity to run away to the Enemy, where ſhe is ſure to be made welcome, for the *Indians* never think they have Women enough, and fight to gain ſuch Prizes, oftner than for Sovereignty.

Marriages.

IN the Caſe of Adultery the Husband puts away the guilty Wife, or ſometimes reſts ſatisfy'd with beating her ſeverely, but what Remedy the Wife has againſt the guilty Husband, I can't inform the Reader.

* WHEN Children come to Years of Diſcretion, whether Males or Females, they change their Names, as our Women here in *England* do at their Marriage; and when they perform any remarkable Exploit, they quit their preſent Name

* *Harris's Voyag, Vol.* II. *p.* 156.

again

again, and aſſume another new one: It was a common Practice amongſt the Polite Nations of Antiquity, to augment their Names, by a New Title, on the Account of ſome extraordinary Performance, but to quit an old Name entirely, and take up a new One in the Room of it, is a Cuſtom peculiar to the Natives of *New-England*.

Government.

The *Indian* Government is ſtrictly Monarchical, the *Sachem* or Prince having an abſolute Power over the Lives of all his Subjects: In all important Affairs, he ſummones a Council of his Nobles, and *Panieſe*, or Counſellors, in which 'tis admirable to ſee the Majeſtick Deportment of the Prince, and the ſubmiſſive Behaviour of his Servants, who after they have given their Opinions upon the Queſtion, refer the Determination of it to the Prince, and never fail to applaud his Wiſdom, and execute his Order without the leaſt Heſitation.

Their Miniſters of State

THE *Panieſe* or Counſellors to the *Sachem* are not only the wiſeſt and moſt couragious Men that can be found, but generally of the largeſt Size too; the *Sachems* never make War, or undertake any weighty Buſineſs without their Advice; and when the Armies march, they are always the immediate Guard of the Prince's Perſon. To keep up ſo honourable an Order, as the *Panieſe* are eſteem'd to be amongſt all the *Indians*,* they chuſe out the likelieſt and moſt promiſing Boys, and train them up with abundance of Care, and in the Obſervation of peculiar Rites and Cuſtoms; 'tis not a little Hardſhip theſe Boys go through while they are under this Diſcipline; they abſtain from all curious Meats, and drink the Juices of bitter Herbs, in ſuch Quantities, as to cauſe exceſſive Vomitings; they are beat over the Legs and Shins with Sticks,

* *Harris's Voyag, p.* 858.

and made to run thro' prickly Buſhes and Brambles, to render them hardy; and, as they ſay, more acceptable to *Hobbamocko*; for theſe *Panieſe*, or Miniſters of State, are in League with the Prieſts; and in order to keep the People in awe, are allow'd to give out, that *Hobbamocko* makes frequent Viſits to them, tho' our *Engliſh* in all their Converſations with them, never had the good Fortune of coming to any of their Houſes, when he was there: But this is certain, that the *Panieſe* in all great and dangerous Attempts diſcover a Boldneſs and Courage beyond that of the other Warriors; the common People firmly believe them to be above the Reach of Swords and Darts, and that no ordinary Weapons at leaſt will kill them.

Nobles. THE *Nobles* are either ſuch as * are deſcended from the Blood Royal, or ſuch on whom the Prince has beſtow'd Part of his Dominions with the Royalties; or ſuch whoſe Deſcent has been from Anceſtors, who had Time out of Mind, been eſteem'd, ſuch.

Yeomen. THE *Yeomen* are ſuch as having no Title to Nobility, are yet eſteem'd by the Prince, as thoſe that have a Natural Right of living within his Dominions, and a Common Uſe of the Land, and are diſtinguiſh'd by two Names or Titles; the one ſignifying *Subjection*, the other a *Tiller of the Land*.

Villains. BESIDES theſe there are a ſort of *Villains* or Slaves amongſt them, and theſe are ſuch who were originally Strangers or Forreigners, tho' they have lived in the Country for many Generations; they are in ſome Meaſure ſubject to the Yeomanry, and are not allowed the Honour of attending the Prince in

* *Mather, Book* VI. *p.* 51

Hunting

Hunting, or ſuch like Exerciſes, unleſs call'd to it by particular Favour. But after all, no Subject has any Property in the Land he uſes, the whole Territory being the Prince's Inheritance, and if any Man has Occaſion for a Quantity of Land, he goes to the *Sachem*, and obtains his Leave to make uſe of it.

THE Succeſſion to the Crown is Hereditary, always deſcending * to the eldeſt Son, and in caſe of Failure of Male Iſſue to the Female, but the *Blood Royal* is in ſuch Veneration among them, that if a Prince has Iſſue by divers Women *that* ſhall ſucceed as Heir, which is royally deſcended on both Sides, tho' younger than the other Children; the Iſſue which they have by a Venter of leſs Quality than a Princeſs, being accounted only Noble, not Royal. If the Father dies before the Son or Daughter is of Age to ſucceed him; the Minor is committed to the Tuition of ſome able Counſellor, who manages the Affairs of the Country till the other is fit to take that Burden himſelf. There are ſome petty *Sachems* that are little Tributary Princes, and depend on the greater for Protection, without whoſe Knowledge and Conſent they dare not make War, nor enter into Alliances with any of their Neighbours.

Succeſſion to the Crown

THE Revenues of the Crown conſiſt in the Tributes or Contributions of the People, who bring Baskets of Corn, and ſome of the firſt Fruits of every thing they are Maſters of; as Fleſh, Fiſh, Roots, Berries, Beans, and the Skins of Beaſts, as *Moſſe*, *Bear*, *Deer*, *Beaver*, &c. to one of the *Panieſe*, whom the *Sachem* appoints to receive them, and then acquainting the *Sachem* with it, he comes out himſelf, and

Revenues.

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* *Mather*, ibid.

expreſſes

expreſſes his Gratitude to his People by good Words, and ſome ſmall Preſents; with theſe Things the Prince's Table is plentifully furniſh'd, ſo as to enable him to keep open Houſe for Strangers and Travellers; all ſuch when they paſs thro' their Territories go thither of Courſe, where they are entertain'd according to their Quality, but the Cuſtom is always as ſoon as they come to tell whether they are going, and how long they intend to ſtay. Beſides this, the *Sachem* claims an abſolute Sovereignty over the Seas; all that is ſtranded on the Shoar of his Sea-Coaſt is his, and all Whales, or Wrecks of Value floating on the Sea, and taken up within any Part of his Dominion. * In Time of War both People and Eſtate are wholly at the Diſpoſal of the Prince, and therefore no Tribute is either demanded or expected at ſuch Times.

Money.

THEY have a ſort of Money among them, which they call *Wampam* †, and is a Parcel of little Beads made of the Shells which lie on the Sea-Coaſt, with Holes in them to ſtring upon a Bracelet, whereof ſome are white, and of theſe ſix go for a Penny, ſome black or blue, and of theſe three go for a Penny; they have no Coin, nor are they acquainted with the Uſe of any ſort of Mettal, but ſharpen all their Inſtruments with Stone.

Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

IN Matters of unjuſt or diſhoneſt Dealing, they proportion the Puniſhment according to the Number of Times the Delinquent has offended. For the *firſt* Crime he is reproach'd with his Villany after a very diſgraceful Manner; for the *ſecond*, he is beaten with a Cudgel on the naked Back, and for the *third*, beſides a ſound beating, he has his Noſe ſlit, that all Men may know and avoid

* *Mather*, Book VI. *p.* 51. † *Mather*, ibid.

him.

him. Now in all theſe Caſes the *Sachem* is not only Examiner and Judge, but Executioner too; 'tis he that beats and whips the Malefactors, and when the Matter requires it, ſlits their Noſes; Murder is always puniſh'd with Death without the leaſt Favour, and the *Sachem* does this bloody Work himſelf: Indeed, if the Criminal be a great Way off, and can't conveniently be brought to him, the *Sachem* ſends his own Knife, with which the Execution muſt be done, where it can't be done with his own Hand. But any Puniſhment that is not Capital, the *Indians* will not receive, but from the Hands of their *Sachems*; they won't be beat or whipt by an Officer, but their Prince may do it to all Extremities, and they'll never offer to run away: Nay, for a Man to cry or flinch during the Time of his Correction, is reckon'd a more infamous Thing than either the Offence it ſelf, or the Puniſhment.

THE *Indian* Princes have a Sovereign Contempt of the limited Authority of the *Engliſh* Governours; one of them coming to make Mr. *Mayhew* the Governour of *Martha's* Vineyard, a Viſit with his uſual * Attendance, which were eighty Perſons well arm'd; being admitted into the Room, ſat down; and Mr. *Mayhew* coming in, according to their Cuſtom took no Notice of the Prince's being there, (it being with them in Point of Honour incumbent on the Inferiour to ſalute the Superiour) after ſome time paſt in Silence, the Prince ſaid to Mr. *Mayhew*, *Sachem*, *i. e.* Noble or Worſhipful, *are you well?* To which after a friendly Reply, and treating of ſeveral Things relating to the Iſland; he ask'd a Favour, which Mr. *Mayhew* promiſed, adding afterwards, if the Inhabitants con-

* *Mather*, *Book* III. *p.* 18.

ſented;

ſented; to which the *Indian* reply'd, *Why do you recall your Promiſe: What I promiſe or ſpeak is always true, but you* Engliſh *Governours can't be true, for you can't make your Words nor Intentions true; but mine are always true, for I make them true.*

Language.

THO' the *Indians* of *New-England* are made up of above twenty different * Nations, yet they ſeem Originally to have been of one Language, but for want of Commerce and Correſpondence among themſelves, have form'd different Dialects, ſo as not to be capable of underſtanding each other, but a Man that is Maſter of any one of the Languages, may in a very little time, be able to converſe in them all, for there is a great Affinity between many of their Words; as for Example, *Nuppaw, Duppaw, Ruppaw,* ſignifies the Sun; *Attik, Ahtooque,* a Deer; *Wennit, Werrit* Good; *Pum, Pumme, Pim,* Oil or Fat; in ſeveral Dialects. There is a Letter or two in our Alphabet, which the *Indians* have not in theirs, they can't pronounce the Letters *L* and *R*, except in the North, where the *Indians* who have a peculiar Dialect to themſelves pronounce an *R*, where an *N* is pronounc'd by the other Nations: But if their Alphabet be ſhort, I am ſure ſome of the Words compos'd out of it are long enough; one would think it impoſſible to commit them to Memory; for Inſtance,

Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonaſh
Signifies in Engliſh, Our Luſts.
Noowomantammooonkanunonnaſh. Our Loves.
Kummogkodonattoottummocctiteaongannunnonaſh.
Our Queſtion.

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* *Mather, Book* III. *p.* 193.

There

There will certainly be no Occaſion for more Examples to convince any reaſonable Perſon of the Barbarity of this Language, or of the *Herculean* Labour of making one's ſelf Maſter of it, eſpecially when we add, that it has little Affinity to, or Derivation from any of the *European* Languages that we are acquainted with.

UPON the whole, theſe Barbarous *Indians* are a lively Image of humane Nature, without the Improvement of Art and Induſtry, for tho' they have inhabited the Country for ſeveral Ages, they are but where they were at firſt; a Bow and an Arrow headed with the Bone of a Fiſh, are all their Weapons; the Skin of a Beaſt is their Cloathing, and the Fleſh of it their Food; they have no Learning nor Letters; 'tis only Neceſſity that puts 'em upon Hunting, Fiſhing, or making Bows and Arrows; their Diverſion conſiſts in extravagant Dancings, Hoopings, and Howlings; Nature had given them a tollerable Complexion, but they have ſpoilt it by daubing themſelves with certain Oils and Juices, which has made them Tawny. Their Women are ſtrong and maſculine, and ſupport the Pains of Childbearing without the leaſt Groan; they are ſwift of Foot and capable of enduring a great deal of Fatigue and Hardſhip: All their Ambition is to be Valiant, 'tis that chiefly which gives a Man Reputation among them, for there is hardly any other Mark of Diſtinction among the common People, but the Men of Courage or *Poltroons*; our Voyagers own them to be quick enough of Apprehenſion, but at the ſame time, crafty, timorous, fickle, revengeful and thieviſh; ſo ignorant were they of the Nature of Commerce, when the *Europeans* firſt traded with them, that they parted with things of the greateſt

Value

Value for *Bagatelles* and Trifles; but now they are grown wiser, and will drive as good a Bargain as their Neighbours; many of them have left off their Savage way of living, and no doubt but others will follow their Example when they have convers'd a little longer with the trading Nations of *Europe*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A ſhort Account of the Sufferings of the Puritans, *in the Reigns of Queen* Elizabeth, *and King* James I. *of the Original of the* Browniſts. *Their Principles. Their Sufferings. Their removing themſelves into* Holland; *where Mr.* Robinſon *laid the Foundation of the* Independent *Church Diſcipline, as it was afterwards practiſed in* New-England.

THE firſt Settlements in *New-England* were a Conſequence of the Diſputes which attended the Reformation of Religion in *England*; we muſt therefore look back to the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, in order to trace them down from their Original, and diſcover the various Steps by which they were at laſt accompliſhed.

THE Perſecution which Queen *Mary* raiſed againſt the *Proteſtants*, forced great Numbers of them to leave their Native Country and retire with their Families into thoſe Parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, where the Reformation had obtained; and the Magiſtrates would allow them Places for the free Exerciſe of their Religion: Here they had an Opportunity of obſerving the Diſcipline of the firſt Reformers, which ſome of them admired, and others as much undervalued and deſpiſed, the Congregation at *Frankfort*, copied after the Church of *Geneva*,

Geneva, and ſubmitted to a Diſcipline differing very little from theirs; but thoſe of *Baſil* and *Strasburgh*, adher'd to the Service Book of King *Edward*; and the Reaſons they offer'd in Vindication of their Practice were, becauſe it had once been the eſtabliſh'd Religion of their Country: Many of them had ſubſcribed to the Uſe of it, when they accepted of Livings in the Church: And beſides, their Brethren in *England*, were now ſealing the Truth of it with their Blood: The Congregations of *Frankfort* and *Geneva*, argued for themſelves on the other Hand, That the Service Book of King *Edward*, was drawn up in Compliance with the Neceſſity of the Times: That it retain'd too many of the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*: That the Authors of it themſelves deſigned a further Reformation in the Church of *England*, as ſoon as the Times would bear it; for the Truth of which they appealed to the Book it ſelf, in which there is a Prayer to that Purpoſe; That they were now in a Foreign Country, and uncertain whether ever they ſhould return home again, and therefore thought themſelves at Liberty to agree upon ſuch a Diſcipline as was moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and the Practice of the Churches amongſt which they lived: But theſe Reaſons were ſo far from ſatisfying the other Party, that after ſeveral Conferences for an Accommodation, they parted in Anger, and carried their Reſentments ſo high, that they could hardly ever live in Charity with each other afterwards.

UPON Q. *Elizabeth*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the *Exiles* came home with Reſolutions to attempt the Reformation of the Church of *England* according to their ſeveral Models, but the *Queen* quickly let them ſee what they were to truſt to, for being a Woman that affected a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony in Religion, and having been educated

educated all along with Prince *Edward*, She was prejudic'd in favour of *his* Service Book, and reſolved to reduce the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as near as poſſible to that Standard. Some few Alterations, indeed, were made in the Book, but chiefly in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, and ſeveral Paſſages which gave *them* Offence were ſtruck out, by the Advice of Dr. *Parker*, *Grindal*, and *Cox*, who were appointed to reviſe it; after which it paſſed into a Law and became the eſtabliſh'd Religion of the Church of *England*. The Puritans ſtruggled hard for the laying aſide the *Popiſh* Veſtments, or at leaſt, for making the uſe of them in Divine Service indifferent, but they could obtain nothing; the Queen was inflexible, and would be obeyed.

THE firſt ſet of Proteſtant Biſhops after the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown, being made up chiefly of ſuch as had been Confeſſors for Religion, were Men of moderate Principles, and ſhewed a great Regard to tender Conſciences; * They complied indeed with the Ceremonies, but were very far from approving them; Dr. *Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in a Letter to *Bullinger*, writes, 'That 'the Biſhops had no Hand in making that Act 'of Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Veſtments, 'and that they were in doubt, whether they ſhould 'deſert their Miniſtry or obey the *Law*. *Grindal* 'calls God to witneſs, that it did not lie at their 'Door, that the Habits were not quite taken a-'way;' and in ſeveral of their Letters to the Foreign Divines, they inveigh not only againſt the *Habits*, but againſt *Muſick* in Churches, † the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, and the Abuſes of the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, which they promiſe to declaim againſt, till they were ſent back to *Hell*, from whence they came; ſeveral Attempts were made in Convocation

* *Strype's Life of* A. B. *Parker*. p. 154. † *Bp.* Burnet *Hiſt. Reform* Part 3. p. 314.

for the Redreſs of theſe Grievances, but the Convocation and Parliament too, had given away the Power out of their Hands, by a Clauſe in a late Act, whereby the Queen was authorized *to Ordain and Publiſh ſuch farther Rites and Ceremonies, as ſhould be moſt for the Reverence of Chriſt's holy Myſteries and Sacraments.* And when Application was made to her, ſhe declared roundly againſt all Innovations.

BUT tho' the Preferments of the Church were thus ſhut againſt All that would not comply with the Queens Injunctions in every thing, yet ſome of thoſe that refus'd to wear the Habits were conniv'd at for the preſent, and ſuffered to preach in the Churches, as *Coverdale, Sampſon, Fox, Lever, Humphrys*, and Others. No Subſcriptions were requir'd of the Clergy, except to the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation of the Year 1562; nor was any great Streſs laid upon an exact Uniformity in the Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Service till ſome time after. But in the Month of *January* 1564-5. the Queen writ a Letter to A.B. *Parker*, requiring him to take effectual Meaſures to bring the Clergy throughout the whole Kingdom to an exact Uniformity in Matters of Religion, laying the blame of the Diſorders in the Church on his, and his Brethren's Remiſsneſs in not doing their Duty. Upon this, the Biſhops met together, and agreed on certain Orders relating to the Clergy, which were publiſh'd the 24th of *March* following. One of them was this; 'That all beneficed Perſons ſhould ſubſcribe to the uſe of the Surplice and Common Prayer-Book in all Divine Adminiſtrations.' Upon refuſal of which they were immediately to be ſequeſtred, and if they did not comply within 3 Months, to be *ipſo facto*, deprived. Many of the Puritanical Miniſters were firſt Sequeſtred by this Injunction, and at laſt deprived, as Dr. *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, Dr *Sampſon* Dean of Chriſt Church, and about thirty ſeven of the

London

London Clergy, amongſt whom were ſome of the moſt popular Preachers, whoſe Churches were ſhut up, for want of Conformiſts to ſupply them. But ſeveral others, either thro' the Connivance of ſome of the Biſhops, or the Protection of ſome Great Perſons at Court, made a ſhift ſtill to keep their Livings in the Church.

THE Severity of the Queen and the Biſhops, in preſſing theſe Injunctions at this time, gave riſe to that Separation *, which ſtill 1566. divides the Church of *England*; for when the People could no longer hear their Miniſters in the Churches without the *Habits*, ſome of them reſolved to gather a Congregation of their own in private; and for this End, hired the *Plumbers-Hall*, under pretence of a Wedding, but in reality for the Exerciſe of religious Worſhip. About one hundred of them met there, and uſed the *Geneva* Service, but they were diſturbed by the Sheriffs, and fourteen or fifteen of them taken, and ſent to the Compter, ſeven or eight of theſe were brought the next Day before the *Lord-Mayor*, Biſhop *Grindal*, Dean *Goodman*, Mr. *Wattes*, and other Commiſſioners †. The Biſhop charged them with Lying, becauſe they hired the Hall under pretence of a Wedding; and with condemning the whole State of the Church as it was reformed in King *Edward*'s time, for which many Good Men had laid down their Lives. The Priſoners anſwered for themſelves with a little too much Freedom and Boldneſs; and were therefore all but one remanded to Priſon, and kept there above a Year.

THE Parliament having at the latter End of the laſt Year taken into Conſideration the State of Religion, order'd a Bill to be 1573. brought in for the Alteration of ſome of the 39 Articles in favour of the Puritans; but

* Pierce's *Vind. of Diſſenters*, p. 63. † Strype's *Life of* Grindal, *p.* 136.

when ſome of the Members of both Houſes conſer'd with the ABp. about it, he ſignify'd his Diſlike, and immediately laid the Matter before the *Queen*, who according to her arbitrary Manner, ſent and forbad their medling with thoſe Matters. Immediately upon this the Bps. revived their Severities againſt the *Puritans*; ſeveral eminent Miniſters were ſent for before the Council, and the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and examined upon theſe Articles: "Whether the Book of "Service was good and godly, *every Tittle* ground-"ed upon holy Scripture? Whether the 39th Ar-"ticles were agreable to the Word of God or "not? Whether we muſt of neceſſity follow the "primitive Church in ſuch things as are uſed and "eſtabliſh'd or not? And whether all Miniſters "ſhould be equal?" And for not giving ſatisfactory Anſwers, many were caſt into Priſon, and threatned with Baniſhment; the Queen and Council likewiſe publiſh'd two ſevere Proclamations againſt all that were of the ſame Principles; but theſe Methods were ſo far from healing the Wounds of the Church, that they widen'd them, for the People would not deſert their ſilenced Miniſters, but followed them into the Fields, and Woods, and private Houſes, where they could meet, without the Notice and Obſervance of their Superiours.

AFTER the Death of AB. *Parker*, the *Puritans* enjoy'd a little Reſt, for Dr. *Grindall* who ſucceeded him in the Archiepiſcopal See, was a Man of moderate Principles and would not go the Queen's length in every thing; but he ſoon fell under her Diſpleaſure, and her Reſentments ran ſo high againſt him, that he was confined to his Houſe, and ſequeſtred for Six Months, and tho' he made his ſubmiſſion, yet the Queen never reſpected him afterwards, nor had he any great Share in the Government of the Church as long as he liv'd.

UPON

UPON *Grindall's* Death, Dr. *Whitgift* Bp. of *Worceſter* was tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*; he was a Man of a ſevere Temper, a ſtiff Maintainer of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy of the Church, an implacable Adverſary of the Puritans, and one who had not only drawn his Pen againſt them, but given ſufficient Proofs of his Inclination to deſtroy them with the ſpiritual Sword, when it ſhould be put into his Hand. The *Queen* upon his Advancement, ordered him to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Church, and Uniformity in the Service of God, which through the Connivance of the *Prelates*, the Obſtinacy of the *Puritans*, and the Power of ſome of the *Nobles*, had been very much neglected: The ABp. immediately in the very firſt Year of his Conſecration, with the Advice of his Brethren in Convocation, publiſh'd three new Articles which all the Clergy were oblig'd to ſubſcribe.*

Firſt, "THAT her Majeſty under God hath "and ought to have the Soveraignty and Rule "over all Perſons, born within her Realms, Do- "minions, and Countries, of what Eſtate, either "Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, ſoever they be; and "that no other foreign Power, State, or Poten- "tate hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, "Power, Superiority, or Preeminence, or Au- "thority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within her "Majeſty's ſaid Realms, Dominions, or Coun- "tries."

Secondly, "THAT the Book of Common-Pra- "yer, and of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Dea- "cons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the "Word of God, and that the ſame may be law- "fully uſed, and that he himſelf will uſe the "Form in the ſaid Book preſcribed in publick

* *Strypes Life of Whitgift, p.* 115.

" Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments,
" and no other.

Thirdly, " THAT he alloweth the Book of the
" Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the ABps.
" and Bps. of both Provinces, and the Clergy in
" Convocation holden at *London*, in the Year of
" our Lord God 1562, and ſet forth by her Ma-
" jeſty's Authority. And that he believeth all the
" Articles therein contained to be agreable to the
" Word of God."

The firſt of theſe Articles, the *Puritans* of thoſe Times were willing to ſubſcribe, but they abſolutely refuſed ſubſcription to the ſecond and third, unleſs they might have Liberty to explain upon them; but the Bp. would admit of no Qualifications, and ſo great Numbers of them were ſuſpended and deprived; Sixty Four in *Norfolk*, Sixty in *Suffolk*, Twenty One in *Lincolnſhire*, Thirty Eight in *Eſſex*, ſeveral in *Kent* and other Countys,* tho' Mr. *Stripe*† in the Life of AB. *Whitgift*, aſſerts the whole Number of Recuſants within the Province of *Canterbury* to be but Forty Nine. Great Endeavours were uſed to move the Queen, and the *Bps.* in favour of theſe Men. Many Petitions came up from ſeveral Counties; the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and Secretary *Walſingham*, interceeded for them, and at laſt the Privy Council themſelves entreated the Bps. to conſider the Poor ſuſpended Miniſters, if not out of Compaſſion to them and their Families, yet for the ſake of the People of the Realm, who were deprived *of their Paſtors, being learned, tho' in ſome Points ceremonial, they ſeemed doubtful only in Conſcience, not in Wilful-*

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* Dr. Calamy's *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, pt. 2d. p.* 111. *taken from a Manuſcript in the Drs. Poſſeſſion. The Author of the Hiſtory of Conformity, printed* 1689 *mentions the ſame Manuſcript, and gives the ſame Numbers.*

† B. III. *p.* 156.

neſs.

neſs. But the *ABp.* inſtead of being ſoftned by theſe Interceſſions, reſolved to go thro' with the Work he had begun, and rid the Church of all that would not comply with his Terms, and to accompliſh this, he went to the *Queen*, and prevailed with her to iſſue out a Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs to himſelf, the Bp. of *London*, and ſome others of the ſame ſevere Principles with himſelf, whereby they ſhould have Power to frame Articles, and Interrogatories, and examine *ex mero Officio* all ſuſpected Perſons. Accordingly they drew up 24 Articles, which, as the Lord Treaſurer writes in a Letter to the ABp. dated *July* 1ſt 1684, "were ſo curiouſly penn'd, ſo full of Branches "and Circumſtances, as he thought the Inquiſition of *Spain** uſed not ſo many Queſtions to "comprehend and to trap their Preys; that "this Juridical and Canonical ſifting of poor "Miniſters, was not to edify and reform; And "that in Charity he thought they ought not to "anſwer to all theſe nice Points, except they were "very notorious Offenders in *Papiſtry* or *Hereſy*," and he adds, "that he had willed theſe Miniſters "not to anſwer thoſe Articles except their Con-"ſciences might ſuffer them." The *ABp*, endeavour'd to juſtify his Proceedings to the *Treaſurer*, but he was ſo far from being able to give him Satisfaction, that in a ſhort Letter which the *Treaſurer* writ back to him, he tells him that he would not call his Proceedings rigorous and captious, but they were ſcarcely Charitable, and that he had cauſe to pity the poor Men that fell into his Hands. The Lords of the Privy Council found no better Quarter with the *ABp.* for when they writ to him in favour of the deprived Miniſters of *Eſſex*, he anſwered, that what† "he had done was

* Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 157. † *Ibid.* p. 157.

" for the Peace of the Church, that the Accuſati-
" on of ſeverity was the leaſt thing he feared,
" and that if he could but anſwer to himſelf the
" contrary Fault he ſhould think himſelf well paid.
" The ſame ſeverity (ſays he) wherewith I kept
" *Trinity* Colledge, and my late Dioceſs of *Wigorn*
" in good Order, for theſe Diviſions do I now
" alſo uſe.

WHEN neither the *Treaſurer* nor the *Lords of the Privy Council* could obtain any thing of the *Biſhop*; the Puritans laid their Grievances before the Houſe of Commons, who paſſed a Bill, touching the Matter of admitting Men into the Miniſtry, and for the Reformation of ſeveral Abuſes in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, but the A. B. fell upon his Knees before the Queen, and begged her to ſupport the ſinking Church, * and ſuffer no Alterations to be made in her Conſtitution, leſt it ſhould be ſaid *that She had maintained an Error*; whereupon the *Queen* reprimanded the Houſe for encroaching upon her Supremacy, and ordered them to meddle no further in thoſe Matters. There were ſome few Struggles in favour of the *Puritans* the next Parliament, which came to nothing, and ſo they were given up to the Mercy of the *Biſhops*, who never fail'd to proſecute with the utmoſt Rigour all ſuch as fell into their Hands. The ſeveral Examinations of *Puritanical* Miniſters that I have met with, are full of coarſe and abuſive Language, not fit for the Mouths of *Biſhops*; as if it had not been enough to ſuſpend and deprive them, without inſulting and trampling upon them at the ſame Time: How could theſe Gentlemen complain of the Cruelties of the *Papiſts* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when they were now acting the

* Fuller's *Ch. Hiſtory*, B. 9. page 174.

ſame

ſame Tragedy over again, upon Perſons of the ſame Faith with themſelves?

BUT after all, the Zeal of the A. B. and his *Brethren*, had not all the Succeſs they expected from it, for their ſevere Proceedings againſt the *Puritans*, inſtead of reconciling them to the Church, drove them further and further from it; The Order of *Biſhops* began to be hated; and the People's Compaſſion to the ſuffering Miniſters, was very much raiſed; as thinking it hard, that Men of Learning and Probity, and of the ſame Faith with themſelves ſhould be turned out of their Livings to beg their Bread, for the ſake of a few Ceremonies, which their Adverſaries themſelves acknowledg'd to be indifferent. It had been eaſy for the *Biſhops* at this Time to have put an End to the Diviſions of the Church, by yielding a little to their weak Brethren, or following the Example of the firſt Council of *Jeruſalem*, which was to lay on the People no greater Burthen than the Obſervation of neceſſary Things; but theſe good Men were wiſer than their Predeceſſors, for it ſeemed good to them to trouble the People for things that were not neceſſary, nay ſo far did they proceed, that in the 35th of *Queen Elizabeth* they obtained an Act of Parliament whereby the Penalties of Non-conformity to the Church, were not the wholeſome Severities of Fines and Impriſonments, but abjuring the Land, and in caſe of Refuſal, Death. * And yet notwithſtanding all this, the Number of *Puritans* encreaſed prodigiouſly under the A. B. Hands, they had their private Aſſemblies in all Parts of the Country, they ſet up their *Claſſes* and Provincial Aſſemblies; and had a very great Intereſt both at Court and in Parliament, but the A. B. might thank himſelf for

* Strype's *Life of* Arch Biſhop *Whitgift*, page 417.

it,

it, for if he had not by wracking and torturing Men's Conſciences without Form of Law, been continually forcing honeſt and peaceable Men out of the Church, the Body of *Diſſenters* would never have been ſo formidable as it was.

'TIS certain the *Puritans* of thoſe times were very unwilling to ſeparate from the Church of *England*, and leave their Preferments in it, for they allowed her to be a true Church, and only petition'd for indulgence in a few Ceremonies which did not affect her Conſtitution: But when they ſaw the *Biſhops* puſh things to an Extremity, and proſecute them with their Indignation, both *in* the Church *and out* of it, it begot a great deal of ill Blood, and alienated the Affections of ſome of them to ſuch a Degree, as to deny the Church of *England* as then conſtituted to be a true Church, and the Lawfulneſs of joyning in any Part of her Worſhip.

THESE were the People who were afterwards known by the Name of BROWNISTS, * from one *Robert Brown*, a fiery hot headed young Clergyman, who put himſelf at their Head, and writ in Defence of the Separation. He was deſcended of an Ancient and Honourable Family in *Rutlandſhire*, his Grandfather *Francis*, had a Charter granted him by King *Henry* the 8th, and confirm'd by Act of Parliament, *giving him leave to put on his Cap in the Preſence of the King or his Heirs, or any Lord Spiritual or Temporal in the Land, and not to put it off but for his own Eaſe or Pleaſure.* His Father was a Gentleman of a conſiderable Eſtate at *Tolethorp* in *Rutlandſhire* and nearly related to the Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*; his Son *Robert* being deſign'd for ſome Preferment in the Church, was Educated in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and uſed to preach

* Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* B. IX. p. 167.

ſome

ſometimes at *Bennet* Church, where the Vehemence of his Delivery got him Eſteem among the Common People. * *Bayly* ſays, that he was firſt a School-Maſter in *Southwark*, and afterwards a Preacher at *Iſlington*, which is not very likely conſidering the Reputation of his Family. But the firſt Place where he publiſh'd his Notions and inveighed openly againſt the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church was in the City of *Norwich*, for which he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriff of the County by Biſhop *Phreke*, in the Year 1580, but at the requeſt of the Lord Treaſurer, he was brought to *London*, and having acknowledged his Fault before the A. B. of *Canterbury* was diſcharged. In the Year 1582. He publiſh'd a Book call'd, the *Life and Manners of true Chriſtians*, for which A. B. *Whitgift* ſent for him into Cuſtody to make anſwer to ſuch Things as he ſhould lay to his Charge contain'd in the Book; *Brown* confeſt himſelf to be the Author, but denying that he was acquainted with the publication of it, and making a ſort of Submiſſion; at the Motion of his conſtant Friend, the Treaſurer, he was diſmiſt again and ſent home to his Father. He continued with his Father till the beginning of the Year 1586, when the Old Gentleman grew weary of him, and with the leave of the *Treaſurer* turn'd him out of his Houſe; all Methods for the changing his Principles, or making him conformable having been ineffectual; after this he travel'd up and down the Country in company with his Aſſiſtant *Richard Harriſon*, inveighing againſt *Biſhops, Eccleſiaſtical Courts, Ceremonies, ordaining of Miniſters*, &c. for which as he afterwards boaſted, he had been committed to 32 Priſons, in ſome of which he could not ſee his Hand at noon Day.

* *Diſſuaſive from the Errors of the Times*, page 13.

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The *Queen* and the A. B. were reſolv'd to ſuppreſs the growing Faction, and ſince gentle Methods would not win them, to try the Rigour of the Law; *Brown* and his Congregation were wateh'd ſo narrowly, that many of them were impriſon'd, and ſome put to Death. At laſt they reſolved to leave the Kingdom, and remove with their Families to *Middleburgh* in the Province of *Zealand*, where (according to *Fuller*,) *Brown* had travell'd ſome Years before; they obtain'd leave of the *States* to worſhip God in their own Way, and Mr. *Brown* form'd a Church out of his little Company according to his own Model. But ſuch is the miſery of all human Affairs! When this handful of People were deliver'd from the Oppreſſions of the Biſhops, they crumbled into ſo many Parties among themſelves, that Mr. *Brown* their Paſtor ſoon grew weary of his Office, and being void of all true Courage and Conſtancy, he return'd to *England* in the Year 1589, renounced his Principles of Separation, and was preferr'd to the Rectory of *AChurch* in *Northamptonſhire*; *Fuller* is of Opinion, that he never formally recanted his Errors either by Word or Writing, but only promis'd in general to comply with the Orders of the *Church* of *England*; however by the Connivance of the *Arch Biſhop* and the Favour of his great Friend at Court, he enjoy'd his Parſonage as long as he liv'd, which was till the Year 1630, tho' he hardly ever preach'd a Sermon in his Pulpit all the while.* *Fuller*, adds, that to his own perſonal Knowledge, he was a Man of a proud and imperious Nature; offended if what he ſaid in common Diſcourſe was not preſently receiv'd as an Oracle, that he lived a diſſolute Life, far from the *Sabbatarian* ſtrictneſs which his followers pretended to, that he had a Wife with whom he had not liv'd for many Years; and a Church in which he never preach'd; that tho'

* Book 9. page 168.

he

he was againſt the lawfulneſs of paying Tithes, yet he had the Conſcience to take them; upon the whole Mr. *Brown* appears to have been a Man of good Parts, but proud, conceited, extreamly paſſionate, and uncharitable, which brought him at laſt into a *Goal*; for quarrelling with the Conſtable of his Pariſh about the Payment of a Rate, he ſtruck the Officer in his Paſſion, for which he was ſummon'd before Sir *Rowland* St. *John*, a Neighbouring Juſtice of Peace, and committed to *Northampton* Priſon; the decrepit Old Man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a Feather Bed in a Cart, where he fell Sick and died about the 81ſt Year of his Age.

THE Revolt of Mr *Brown* was attended with the Diſſolution of his Church at *Middleburgh*, but the Seeds that he had ſown in *England* were ſo far from being deſtroy'd, that his Notions ſpread not only among the common People, but ſeveral conſiderable Perſons both for Learning and Probity openly eſpouſed them; Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in a Speech which he made in the Houſe of Commons in the Year 1592, when a Bill was brought into the Houſe * for baniſhing ſuch as ſhould be preſent at a Conventicle, tells us that in his Opinion there were near twenty Thouſand of them then in *England*.

THESE *Browniſts* did not differ from the *Church* of *England* in any Articles of her Faith, but their great Crime was the Separation, which they carried to ſuch a length, as to deny the *Church* of *England* to be a true Church, and her Miniſters to be regularly Ordain'd; the Diſcipline of the Church they look'd upon as *Popiſh* and *Anti-Chriſtian*, and all her Ordinances and Sacraments invalid; hence they forbid their People to join with the

* *Strype's Life of Arch-Biſhop* Whitgift, page 417.

Church

Church of *England* in Prayer, Hearing, or any Part of publick Worſhip; nay, they not only renounc'd Communion with the *Church* of *England*, but with all other Proteſtant Churches, except ſuch as ſhould be of the ſame Model with their own. The Form of Government which they ſet up amongſt themſelves was Democratical; when a Church was to be gathered, ſuch as deſired to be Members of it made a Confeſſion of their Faith before one another, and ſign'd a Covenant by which they oblig'd themſelves to walk together in the Order of the Goſpel. The whole Power of admitting and excluding Members, with the deciding of all Controverſies, was in the *Brotherhood*. Their Church Officers were choſen out from among themſelves for preaching the Word, and taking care of the Poor; and ſeparated to their ſeveral Offices, by faſting and Prayer, and the Impoſition of the Hands of ſome of the Brethren; but they did not allow the *Prieſthood* to be a diſtinct Order, or to give a Man an indelible Character; but as the Vote of the Brotherhood made him a Miniſter, and gave him Authority to preach the Word, and adminiſter the Sacraments among them, ſo the ſame Power could diſcharge him from his Office, and reduce him to the State of a private Man again. And as they maintained the Bounds of a Church to be no greater, than what could meet together in one Place, and join in one Communion, ſo the Power of their Officers was preſcrib'd within the ſame Limits; the Miniſter or Paſtor of one Church could not adminiſter the Lord's Supper to another, nor baptize the Children of any, but thoſe of his own Society. Any Lay-Brother was allow'd the Liberty of Prophecying, or of giving a Word of Exhortation to the People, and 'twas uſual, after Sermon, for ſome of them to ask Queſtions, and reaſon upon the Doctrines that had been preach'd. In a Word, every Church according to the Model

of

of the *Browniſts*, is a Body corporate, having full Power within it ſelf to admit and exclude *Members*, to chooſe and ordain *Officers*, and when the Good of the Society requires it to depoſe them again, without being accountable to a *Claſſis*, *Synod*, *Convocation*, or any Juriſdiction beſides themſelves.

UPON theſe People the Laws were executed with the utmoſt Rigour,* their Books were prohibited by the Queen's Authority, and two Perſons were hang'd at St. *Edmunds Bury* for venturing to diſperſe them, *Elias Thacker*, June the 4th, and *John Copping* June the 6th, 1583. But notwithſtanding all the Diſcouragements they met with, they kept up their private Aſſemblies, tho' many Families were ruin'd by it; Nay, ſo zealous were they that in Conjunction with ſome other Puritans, they purchaſed a *Printing Preſs*, and by that means diſperſt among the People, ſeveral Satyrical Pamphlets againſt the *Biſhops*; This I confeſs would have been rude and unmannerly, if the ſevere Treatment they met with from the Queen and *Biſhops* had not in ſome meaſure made it neceſſary; for when Men are born down with the Weight of Authority, and not allow'd to debate their Cauſe before the World, 'tis hard if they may not ſo much as complain; Oppreſſion will make a wiſe man mad. But however, ſome of the Authors of theſe *Pamphlets* paid very dear for their Offence, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

IN the Year 1592, † Fifty ſix of the *Browniſts* were taken on a Lord's Day, as they were worſhipping God in the very Place where the Proteſtant Congregation uſed to meet in Queen *Mary*'s time; they were carried before a Magiſtrate and ſent two by two into the ſeveral Priſons in and about *London*. Some of them by long Impriſon-

* Fuller B. IX. *p.* 169. † Barrow's *Suit to the Parliament.*

ment

ment were almoſt ſtarved, others after two Years Impriſonment were baniſhed, and three or four hanged. *Barrow* who was himſelf a *Browniſt* and ſuffered Death for it, ſays in his Supplication to the Parliament, "the Fifty ſix taken in *London* "were committed unbailably, by the Biſhop "of *London* cloſe Priſoners in *Bridewell*, the "*Limbo*, or *Dungeon* in *Newgate*, the *Fleet*, the "*Compters*, the *Clink*, the *Gatehouſe*, the *White Ly-* "*on*. Theſe bloody Men, ſays he, will allow "them neither Meat, Drink, Fire, Lodging, nor "ſuffer any whoſe Hearts the Lord would ſtir up "for their Relief to have any Acceſs to them, "purpoſing belike to impriſon them to Death as "they have done 17 or 18 others in the ſame noi-"ſome Goals within theſe 6 Years. Some of "this Company, ſays he, had not one Penny a-"bout them when they were ſent into cloſe Pri-"ſon, nor any thing, being abroad, (which is the "caſe of moſt of them, if not of all) to procure "themſelves, and their poor Families any main-"tenance, ſave only by their handy Labours "and Trades. Whereby it is come to paſs that "theſe Enemies of God do not only ſtarve and "undo a Number of Men in the Priſons, but e-"ven a lamentable Company of poor Orphans and "Servants abroad; their unbridled Slaunders, their "Lawleſs privy Searches, their violent breaking "open, and rifling our Houſes, their lamentable "and barbarous uſage of Women, and Young "Children, in theſe hoſtile Aſſaults, their uncon-"troul'd Thievery, robbing, and taking away "of whatſoever they think meet from us in this "Caſe, their unappeaſed and mercileſs Purſuit of "us, from our Houſes, Trades, Wives, Children, "eſpecially from the holy Society of the Saints, "and the Church of God, we are enforced to "omit leſt we ſhould be over tedious —— We "crave for all of us but the Liberty either to "dye openly, or to live openly in the Land of our

"Nativity

" if we deſire Death; it beſeemeth the Majeſty of " Juſtice not to ſee us cloſely murder'd, yea " ſtarved to Death with Hunger and Cold, and " ſtifled in loathſome Dungeons; if we be guilt- " leſs, we crave but the Benefit of our Innocence, " (*viz.*) that we may have Peace to ſerve our " God, and our Prince in the Place of the Sepul- " chres of our Fathers." But the Parliament took no Notice of the Complaints of theſe Sufferers, but left them to the Mercy of the *Biſhops*, by whoſe Influence, as I obſerv'd before, three or four of them were put to Death.

MR. *Udall* a Miniſter was try'd and condemn'd in the Beginning of the Year 1591, for writing and diſperſing a Libel * againſt the *Queen* and the *Church which he called a Demonſtration of the Diſcipline which Chriſt hath preſcribed in his Word, for the Government of the Church in all times and Places until the World's End.* He abſolutely denied himſelf to be the Author of it, but was caſt by his Jury, and tho' at the Inſtances of ſome great Men, and in hopes of a ſpeedy Pardon, he ſigned a Recantation; yet he lay in Priſon for above a Year, and there died about the End of the Year 1592. He was a learned Man, (*ſays Fuller*) blameleſs for his Life, powerful in his Praying, and no leſs profitable than painful in his Preaching.

MR. *John Penry* Miniſter was ſeized in the Month of *May* 1593, † in the Pariſh of *Stepney*, the Vicar of the ſaid Pariſh being the Informer; his Papers were ſeized and examined for Materials to convict him, among which they found a Petition which, as was ſaid, he deſign'd to preſent to the *Queen*, wherein were contained ſeditious Words againſt her Majeſty, and ſevere Reflections on the

* Fuller, *Book* 9. *p.* 221.
† Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *p.* 419.

Tyranny of the *Biſhops*: He was convicted upon the Statute of 23 *Eliz. Cap.* II. and hurried away to Execution the ſame Month, being brought out of the *Kings-Bench* in *Southwark* in an Afternoon to St. *Thomas Waterings*, where he was hanged. This Mr. *Penry*, by the Confeſſion of his very Adverſaries, was a Learned and Religious young Man, and the firſt ſince the Reformation of Religion under Queen *Elizabeth*, that preach'd the Goſpel to the *Welchmen*, and would in all Probability have been an Apoſtle among them, if he had not been put to Death for his Diſaffection to the Church, when he was no more than thirty Years old; he left behind him a Widow and four Children. Hard was the Fate of this young Man! for if we may believe his laſt Proteſtation, which he left behind him in Writing, he ſays, * "That he never took "himſelf for a Rebuker, much leſs a Reformer; "but that in the Diſcharge of his Conſcience, all "the World was to bear with him, if he prefer'd "the Teſtimony which he was bound to yield to "the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, before the Favour of "any Creature. Enemy to any good Order or "Policy either in Church or Commonwealth, *he* "*ſaid*, he never was. That whatſoever he wrote "in Religion, he did it ſimply for no other End, "than for the bringing of God's Truth to Light, "and he appealed to God that he never did any "thing in this Cauſe for Contention, Vain-Glory, "or to draw Diſciples after him, or to be account-"ed ſingular." But beſides, the Facts for which he was condemn'd would not have been accounted Criminal in another Man, for he declares farther in his Proteſtation at his Death, that the Petition to the *Queen*, for which he was to die, was writ when he was in *Scotland*, and partly as a Student in Divi-

* Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *p.* 410.

nity,

nity, that it was confuſed, unfiniſhed, unpubliſhed, and kept ſecret to himſelf; he pleaded, that what he had writ was the Sum of certain Objections made by others againſt her Majeſty and her Government, which he had gathered up in the Place where he was, only with an Intention more narrowly to ſcan and examine the Truth of them: And in his laſt Letter which he wrote to the Lord Treaſurer *Burghly* dated *May* the 22*d*, but a few Days before his Death, he has theſe affecting Words. * "The Cauſe is moſt lamentable, *ſays* "*he*, that the private Obſervations of any Student "in a Foreign Land, and wiſhing well to his Prince "and Country ſhould bring his Life with Blood to "a violent End, eſpecially ſeeing they are moſt "private, and ſo unperfect, as they have no Cohe-"rence at all in them, and in the moſt Places carry "no true *Engliſh*." But his Enemies were reſolved to have his Blood, and I heartily wiſh it be not laid to their Charge.

ABOUT a Month before the Death of *Penry*, *Henry Barrow* a Gentleman, and *John Greenwood* a Miniſter were executed at Tyburn on the like Account, they had lain in Priſon ever ſince the Year 1590,* when Mr. *Cartwright*, and divers other *Puritans* were taken into Cuſtody, and brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Court and Star-chamber; but the *Bps* politickly got theſe Men to be proſecuted in the Temporal Courts, and by Statutes of Parliament that they might take off the Odium of their Death from themſelves, but *Barrow* who ſaw through the Deſign, makes no ſcruple to lay his own and *Greenwood's* Death at the *ABp's* Door. The Priſoners had drawn up a Supplication to the Queen repreſenting the cruel Hardſhips they endured in Priſon, and praying her Highneſs to ex-

* Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *p.* 413. † *Ibid. p.* 418.

tend her Royal Compaſſion to them, and to their Wives and Children, who were ready to periſh; but the *Archbiſhop* would not ſuffer the Supplication to be preſented, but did every thing that lay in his Power to hinder the Knowledge of their Sufferings from coming to the Queen's Ear; whereupon, in a Letter * which *Barrow* writ to one Mr. *Fiſher*, he complains bitterly of him in theſe Words: "The *Archbiſhop*, ſays he, having ſent ſo "many Men to divers Priſons, to ſtop the Cla-"mours of the People againſt him, has poſted "theſe Things to the Civil Magiſtrate: He has "deſtin'd me and my Brother *Greenwood* to Death "againſt the Holy Feaſt, the reſt to cloſe Priſon, "their poor Wives and Children to be caſt out "of the City, and their few Goods to be confi-"ſcated. Is not this a Chriſtian Biſhop? Are "theſe the Virtues of him that taketh upon him "the Care and Government of all the Churches "of the Land, thus to tear and devour God's "poor Sheep, to rend off the Fleſh, and to break "their Bones, and chop them in pieces as Fleſh "to the Cauldron?" Mr. *Strype*, the Writer of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s Life, calls theſe *paſſionate* and *angry Expreſſions*: But if the Caſe of theſe Men was as I have repreſented it, and as he himſelf does not deny, I think the Language is as ſoft as the Cauſe will bear. They were put to death in *April* 1593. and made a very godly and pious End, praying earneſtly for the *Queen* and the *State*; which when the Queen underſtood by Dr. *Reynolds*, as great an Enemy as ſhe was to their Principles, ſhe repented that ſhe had given way to their Death.

BESIDES theſe, there was one *William Dennis* executed at *Thetford* in *Norfolk* on the ſame Ac-

* Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop* Whitgift, *p.* 416.

count,

count, and a great many poor Families utterly ruined by ſevere Fines and Impriſonments.

IT muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Brownists* were more expoſed to Sufferings than the reſt of the *Puritans*, becauſe they held it unlawful to go to Church, or joyn in any part of the publick Worſhip: They apprehended the Hierarchy, in all the Branches of it to be Anti-Chriſtian; and therefore when a Pardon was offer'd *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, upon Condition of their being conformable and going to Church, they choſe to dye rather than accept it upon thoſe Terms. But the continual Proſecutions the *Brownists* underwent in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion-Court* and the *Star-Chamber*, made them reſolve at laſt to quit their Native Country, and retire to ſome Place, where they might enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion, without the Hazard of their Lives. Purſuant to this Reſolution ſeveral Families ſetled at *Amſterdam*, about the End of the Century, formed themſelves into a Church, and choſe Mr. *Johnſon* for their Paſtor, and after him Mr. *Ainſworth*, Author of that excellent Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, which ſhews him to have been one of the moſt learned Men of his Age. This Church, tho' at firſt it had like to have been torn in pieces by inteſtine Diviſions, yet afterwards flouriſh'd under a Succeſſion of Paſtors and Teachers for above an Hundred Years.

THE *Puritans* in the mean time were very ſtill and quiet at Home, waiting for the Succeſſion of King *James* to the Crown, from whom they had great Expectations of a Reformation in the Church, he having been bred a *Presbyterian*, and publickly declared the Kirk of *Scotland* to be the pureſt Church in the World. Accordingly on his Acceſſion they preſented him with a Petition for redreſs of their Grievances, ſigned by almoſt a Thouſand Hands, and the King condeſcended ſo far to them as to appoint a Conference at *Hampton-Court*: But alas!

they ſoon found that he had changed his Religion, if ever he had any, with his Country; that the *Biſhops* had got him entirely into their Intereſts; and conſequently that no Alterations of any Moment were to be expected from him. But theſe Convulſions in the Church, from a Party that the * Archbiſhop thought he had cruſh'd, ſtruck him with ſuch Surprize and Aſtoniſhment, that he laid it to Heart, and dy'd with meer Grief and Concern of Mind about eleven Months after the Queen, and in the 70th Year of his Age; deſiring to give an Account of his Biſhoprick to God rather than to Man. He was a Good Man, but of moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Principles in the Church, far from being ſuch an Heroe as the late Writer of his Life has made him, unleſs a good Intention will ſanctify the moſt cruel and unjuſt Proceedings: He had a moderate Share of Learning, according to the Times he liv'd in, and by falling on his Knees before the Queen for her Aſſiſtance upon every Occaſion, he kept his Ground againſt all his Adverſaries.

THE Reign of K. *James* I. was one continued Scene of Luxury and Eaſe: He committed the Affairs of the State to the Management of his *Miniſters*, and thoſe of the Church to the *Biſhops*, whilſt he indulg'd himſelf in all the Diverſions and Pleaſures that a luxuriant Fancy could invent: He never was a Man of Buſineſs; but at laſt he fell into ſuch a ſtupid Indolence, that he ſeemed before his Death to have loſt the very Remains of Honour and Virtue. The Perſecution of the *Puritans* went on furiouſly in this Reign: The King's Fancy was wonderfully pleaſed with the Applauſes and Flatteries of the *Biſhops*, and in return he gave them free Liberty to vex and oppreſs their Brethren.

* Strype's *Life of* Whitgift, *p.* 578.

In

IN the Convocation in the Year 1603, ſeveral ſevere Canons were made againſt the *Puritans*. "In the Year 1604. ſays Mr. *Calderwood*, three "hundred Miniſters were either ſilenc'd, or de-"priv'd of their Benefices, or excommunicated, "or caſt into Priſon, or forced to leave their own Country *; which yet they could not do without the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World, as appears by the following Relation. Some of the *Separatiſts* in *Yorkſhire* being very much oppreſs'd by the Biſhops about the Year 1607, hired a *Dutch* Man then lying at *Hull* to carry them over to *Holland*, who promis'd to take them in between *Grimſly* and *Hull*; but they coming to the Place a little too ſoon, the Officers of the adjoyning Town, with a Body of Soldiers, came out to ſeize them: The Men made aſhift to get aboard in a Boat, but the Women were in a Bark that lay aground in a Creek at low Water. The *Dutch* Man perceiving the Diſturbance that was aſhore weigh'd Anchor immediately for *Zealand*, without ſtaying for the Bark; the Women thus bereav'd of their Husbands, were dragg'd from one Juſtice to another; and at laſt, for want of Evidence of any Crime againſt them, diſmiſs'd. The Men were ſurpriz'd with a terrible Storm at Sea, which laſted 14 Days, in 7 of which they ſaw neither Sun, Moon, or Stars: But at laſt they got ſafe to their Friends at *Amſterdam*, and their Relations, ſome Time after, followed them.

ARCHBISHOP *Bancroft*, who ſucceeded *Whitgift*, trod in the Steps of his Predeceſſor, urging Subſcription with the utmoſt Rigour; 'till finding ſo many deſert their Stations in the Church, he was forced to wink at them, and ſuffer them to keep their Places without ſubſcribing over again.

* Altare Damaſc. *in Pref.*

One may judge of the Spirit of the Governours of the Church in thoſe Times, by the Proſecution of Mr. *Thomas Lad* * Merchant in *Yarmouth*, "who was brought before the Chan-"cellour of *Norwich* for a ſuppoſed Conven-"ticle, becauſe that he on the Sabbath-Day "after the Sermons ended, ſojourning in the "Houſe of Mr. *Jackler* in *Yarmouth*, who was "late Preacher of *Yarmouth*, joyn'd with him in "repeating the Subſtance and Heads of the Ser-"mons that Day made in the Church, at which "*Thomas Lad* was uſually preſent; and was forc'd "upon his Oath to anſwer certain Articles touch-"ing that Meeting, which he could not ſee un-"til he was ſworn. And having anſwer'd upon "his Oath twice before the Chancellour there, "he was brought to *Lambeth* before the Eccleſi-"aſtical Commiſſioners, to make a farther An-"ſwer upon a new Oath touching the ſuppos'd "Conventicle; which he refus'd to do without "Sight of his former Anſwers, (becauſe he was "charged with Perjury,) and was therefore im-"priſon'd by the Commiſſioners a long time, and "could not be bailed." So that it was a mortal Sin in the Opinion of theſe Men, for a Man that had been at Church twice on the Lord's-Day, to repeat the Heads of the Sermons to his Family in the Evening; a Crime that deſerved Fines, Impriſonment, and the Forfeiture of all that was dear to a Man in the World.

THERE had been a Congregation of *Browniſts* in theſe Parts ever ſince † the Year 1602, which had choſen Mr. *John Robinſon* for their Paſtor; they met together in private Houſes for ſeven or eight

* Pierce's *Vindication of the Diſſenters*, *Part I. p.* 174.

† Mather's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of* New-England, *Book I. p.* 5.

Years,

Years, but were frequently diſturb'd by the Biſhop's Officers, and ſeveral of their Members ruined in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; whereupon they reſolved to leave the Kingdom, which Mr. *Robinſon*, and ſeveral other Families did this very Year, and ſetled at *Leyden*, where, with the Leave of the Magiſtrates, they hired a Meeting-Houſe, and worſhipped God publickly in their own Way.

THIS Mr. *John Robinſon* was the Father of the *Independents*, being the firſt that beat out a middle Way between *Browniſm* and *Presbytery*; when he came firſt to *Holland*, he was a rigid *Browniſt*, but after he had ſeen more of the World, and convers'd with Learned Men, he began to have a more charitable Opinion of thoſe that differ'd from him; and tho' he always maintain'd the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of ſeparating from thoſe Reformed Churches amongſt which he † lived, yet he was far from denying them to be true Churches; nay he allow'd the Lawfulneſs of Communicating with them in the Word and Prayer, tho' not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline; and would give Liberty to any Members of the *Dutch* Church to receive the Sacrament with him occaſionally; he maintain'd to the laſt, that every particular Church or Society of Chriſtians had a compleat Power within itſelf, to chooſe its own *Officers*, to adminiſter all Goſpel-Ordinances, and to exerciſe all Acts of Authority and Diſcipline over its Members; and that conſequently it was *Independent* upon all Claſſes, Synods, Convocations, and Councils; he allow'd the Expediency of *Synods* and *Councils* for the reconciling of Differences among Churches, and giving them friendly Advice, but not for the exerciſing any Act of Authority or Juriſdiction, or the impoſing any Articles or Canons upon them without the free Conſent of the

† Robinſon's *Apology for the* Browniſts, *p.* 7, 11, 35.

Churches

Churches themſelves; and theſe are ſome of the Principles by which the *Independents* are diſtinguiſhed at this Day.

BUT when Mr. *Robinſon* and his Church had been ſome Years at *Leyden* they began to be weary of their new Settlement, not from any Diſturbance from the Civil Magiſtrate, nor from any Quarrels or Diviſions among themſelves, but from an Apprehenſion that their Church muſt in Time be diſſolved, and their Religion loſt in a ſtrange Land, for many of their ſubſtantial Members began to die off, and few or none came over from *England* to fill up their Places; they had no Hopes of propagating their Principles among a People whoſe Language they did not underſtand, but on the contrary were like to be ſwallowed up by them, their Children beginning to marry and incorporate with the *Dutch*. There was not the leaſt Proſpect of a Reformation of Religion at home, or a Toleration for ſuch as diſſented from the Eſtabliſhment. Theſe Conſiderations made them unanimouſly reſolve (after many Days of Prayer for Council and Direction from Heaven) to tranſport themſelves and their Families into ſome Part of *America*, under the Protection of the King of *England*, provided they could obtain a *Patent* for the Lands they ſhould poſſeſs, and ſufficient Security from the Crown for the free and undiſturbed Exerciſe of their Religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Riſe of the firſt Engliſh *Colony. Their Voyage to* New-England. *Their Settlement at* Plimouth, *and the Hardſhips they ſuffer'd. Treaty of Alliance with* Maſſaſoiet, *and other* Indian *Princes. The ill Succeſs of Mr.* Weſton's *Settlement in the* Maſſachuſet's *Bay; and of Capt.* Gorge's. *The ſeditious Practices of* Lyford *and* Oldham. *The Death and Character of the Rev. Mr.* John Robinſon. *Of Capt.* Wollaſton's *Attempt to begin a Settlement in the* Maſſachuſets, *and the Miſery to which his Men were reduced. Of the Opening a Trade with the* Dutch *on* Hudſon's *River. A general Account of the Religion of the Planters.*

THE Merchants of *London* and *Briſtol* had carried on an advantageous Trade with the *Indians* on the Northern Coaſt of *America*, for a conſiderable Time, before they had any Proſpect of perfecting a Settlement in thoſe Parts; but having at laſt received an encouraging Account of the Climate and Soil, from one of their Captains who had ventured pretty high up into the Country, they ſollicited King *James* for a Charter. The King yielded to their Requeſt, and in one Patent *Anno* 1620.

Anno 1620 Patent bearing Date *April* the 10th, 1606, incorporated two Companies, for the ſending out two Colonies.

THE firſt went by the Name of the *London-Adventurers*, who had Liberty to ſeat themſelves, and ſuch as ſhould join with them, at any Place on the Coaſt of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and 41, N. L. And they began their Settlement the very ſame Year at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*.

THE ſecond Company went by the Name of the *Plimouth-Adventurers*, becauſe the Perſons to whom the Grant was made were *Weſt* Country Merchants, and Members of that Corporation. They had Liberty to ſettle in any Part of the Country, between the Degrees of 38 and 45, N. L. and to extend their Juriſdiction a hundred Miles along the Coaſt, and a hundred Miles up into the Country; but tho' the Company made ſeveral Attempts, they were not able to perfect a Settlement, till the Year 1620, when Mr. *Robinſon*, and his Congregation at *Leyden*, who had fled their native Country on the Account of their Religion, happily accompliſh'd it.

Mr. *Robinſon* and his Friends went to *Holland* in the Year 1610, and with the Leave of the * Magiſtrates ſetled in *Leyden*, where they hired a Meeting-Houſe, form'd themſelves into a Church after the Model of the *Browniſts*, and worſhipp'd God publickly in their own Way; but after *ten* Years Experience finding their Affairs go backward; and that their Poſterity were like to be loſt among the *Dutch*, they reſolved to remove into ſome Part of *America* under his Majeſty's Protection, where they might live

* Morton's *Memor. of* New Eng. *Ed.* Camb. N. E. *p.* 29.

by

by themſelves, and have a Proſpect of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to ſettle with them. It was agreed, that Part of the Church ſhould go before their Brethren, to prepare for the Reſt, and if the Majority choſe to go with the firſt Company, the *Paſtor* to go with them; but if not, he was to ſtay behind. *Agents* were ſent over into *England*, who after they had obtained a Patent from the King for the free Exerciſe of their Religion in any Part of *America* where they ſhould ſettle, treated firſt with the *Virginia* Company for a large Tract of Land, in the North Part of that Country; but upon better Conſideration they abandoned their Purchaſe, and entred into Articles with ſuch *Merchant*-Adventurers, as were willing to encourage their ſetling in the South Weſt Parts of *New-England*, on the Banks of *Hudſon*'s River; the Articles bore pretty hard on the Planters, but they were the beſt their preſent Circumſtances could procure. Anno 1620

SEVERAL of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation ſold their Eſtates, and made a common Bank, with which, and the Money they received of the Adventurers, they purchaſed the *Speedwel* a ſmall Ship of 60 Tuns, and hired the *Mayflower* of 180 Tuns. The Agents ſail'd back to *Holland* in the *Speedwel* to take in as many of their Congregation as were willing to embark with them; while the *Mayflower* was fitting out in the River of *Thames*, and freighting with all Neceſſaries for the Plantation. The *Speedwel* was deſigned to continue in the Country, and ſerve the Planters for Fiſhing and other neceſſary Uſes; but the *Mayflower*, when ſhe had performed her Voyage, was to return. All Things being got ready, Mr. *Robinſon* kept a ſolemn Day of Faſting and Prayer with his Congregation, to implore a Bleſſing upon their hazardous

Anno 1620. hazardous Undertaking, and preached an excellent Sermon from *Ezra* viii. 21. *I proclaimed a Faſt there, at the River Ahava, that we might afflict our Souls before God, to ſeek of him a right Way for us, and for our little Ones, and for all our Subſtance.* He concluded his Diſcourſe with the following Exhortation; which, becauſe it breaths ſuch a noble Spirit of Chriſtian Liberty, as was hardly then known in the World, and may ſerve to give the Reader a juſt Idea of this great and good Man, I ſhall tranſcribe for his Peruſal.

"BRETHREN, (ſays he) we are now quick-
"ly to part from one another, and whether I
"may ever live to ſee your Face on Earth any
"more, the God of Heaven only knows; but
"whether the Lord has appointed that or no,
"I charge you before God and his bleſſed An-
"gels, that you follow me no farther than you
"have ſeen me follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"IF God reveal any thing to you by any
"other Inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive
"it as ever you were to receive any Truth by
"my Miniſtry; for I am verily perſuaded, I am
"very confident, the Lord has more Truth yet
"to break forth out of his holy Word. For my
"part, I cannot ſufficiently bewail the Condi-
"tion of the Reformed Churches, who are come
"to a Period in Religion, and will go at preſent
"no further than the Inſtruments of their Re-
"formation. The *Lutherans* can't be drawn to
"go beyond what *Luther* ſaw, whatever Part of
"his Will our good God has reveal'd to *Calvin*,
"they will rather dye than embrace it. And
"the *Calviniſts* you ſee ſtick faſt where they were
"left by that great Man of God, who yet ſaw
"not all things.

"THIS is a Miſery much to be lamented;
"for tho' they were burning and ſhining Lights

"in

" in their Times, yet they penetrated not into Anno 1620
" the whole Counſel of God; but were they
" now living would be as willing to embrace
" further Light, as that which they firſt receiv'd.
" I beſeech you remember it, 'tis an Article of
" your Church Covenant, *That you be ready to*
" *receive whatever Truth ſhall be made known to you*
" *from the written Word of God.* Remember
" *that*, and every other Article of your ſacred
" Covenant: But I muſt herewithal exhort you
" to take heed what you receive as Truth.
" Examine it, conſider it, and compare it with
" other Scriptures of Truth before you receive
" it; for 'tis not poſſible the Chriſtian World
" ſhould come ſo lately out of ſuch thick Anti-
" chriſtian Darkneſs, and that Perfection of
" Knowledge ſhould break forth at once.

" I MUST alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid,
" and ſhake of the Name of *BROWNIST:*
" 'Tis a meer Nickname; and a Brand for the
" making Religion, and the Profeſſors of it, odi-
" ous to the Chriſtian World."

HAVING ſaid this, with ſome other things relating to their private Conduct, he committed them to the Grace of God.

MR. *John Brewſter*, Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Robinſon*, and a ruling Elder in his Church, a wiſe and prudent Man of about 60 Years of Age, put himſelf at the Head of the Colony. On the 1ſt of *July* they went from *Leyden* to *Delfthaven*, whither Mr. *Robinſon* and the Antients of his Congregation accompanied them. They continued together all Night, and next Morning, after mutual Embraces, Mr. *Robinſon* kneeled down with them on the Sea-ſhore, and with a fervent Prayer committed them to the Bleſſing and Protection of Heaven. They quickly joyn'd their other Ship at *Southampton*, and prepared with all Expedition for their intended Voyage.

Anno 1620

ON the 5th of *Auguſt* both Ships ſail'd in Company for *New-England*; but before they got to the Lands-End, Mr. *Reynolds*, Maſter of the *Speedwel*, complained his Ship was ſo leaky that he durſt not venture out to Sea in her: Upon which they put into *Dartmouth* to have her caulked. They then put to Sea a ſecond time; but when they had ſail'd about 100 Leagues Mr. *Reynolds* alarm'd his Paſſengers again, telling them he ſhould certainly founder at Sea if he held on the Voyage: So both Ships put back again into *Plymouth*, and the *Speedwel* was diſmiſs'd as unfit for the Voyage; tho' in Truth this was owing chiefly to the Cowardice and Treachery of the Maſter, who did not care to perform the Voyage, being afraid their Proviſions would fall ſhort before his Year was expired, for the Ship was found enough, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful Voyages afterwards.

THE whole Company, being about 120, were now ſtow'd in one Ship, which ſail'd out of *Plymouth* on the 6th of *September*: A ſad Time of Year to enter on ſuch an Expedition! And after a long and dangerous Voyage they fell in with the Land at *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November* following. Here they refreſh'd themſelves about half a Day, and then tack'd about to the Southward for *Hudſon's Bay*; but Mr. *Jones* the Maſter had, it ſeems, been brib'd by the *Hollanders* to carry them more to the North, the *Dutch* intending themſelves to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, as they did ſome time after: Inſtead therefore of putting out to Sea, he intangled them among dangerous Shoals and Breakers, where meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the Cape; upon which they put into the Harbour, and reſolv'd, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and not proceed forward to the *Bay*.

There

There was one unexpected Advantage of their settling here, which was, That the Country had been in a manner depopulated by a Plague the laſt Year, which had carried off Nine Parts in Ten of the Inhabitants, whereas the Natives were ſo numerous about the *Bay*, that in all Probability they would have maſſacred the Planters as ſoon as they came aſhore: But then there was an Inconvenience attending it, which was, That *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of their Patent, the *Powers* they had receiv'd from the Crown of *England* would become void. But Neceſſity has no Law, and therefore before they went aſhore they entred into a ſolemn Combination to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as ſhould by the Majority be approved of; in witneſs whereof they ſign'd the following Inſtrument. *Anno* 1620

"IN the Name of God, Amen, We whoſe "Names are underwritten, the Loyal "Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King "*James*, by the Grace of God, of *Great* "*Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, De- "fender of the Faith, *&c.* having undertaken "for the Glory of God, and Advancement of "the Chriſtian Faith, and the Honour of our "King and Country, a Voyage to plant the "firſt Colony in the Northern Parts of *Virginia*, "do by theſe Preſents, ſolemnly and mutually, "in the Preſence of God and one another, co- "venant and combine ourſelves together into a "civil Body politick, for our better ordering and "Preſervation, and Furtherance of the Ends afore- "ſaid; and by Virtue hereof do enact, conſtitute, "and frame ſuch juſt and equal Laws, Ordi- "nances, Acts, Conſtitutions, and Officers, "from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt "meet and convenient for the general Good of

Anno 1260 " the Colony, unto which we promiſe all due " Submiſſion and Obedience.

" IN Witneſs whereof we have hereunto " ſubſcribed our Names at *Cape Cod*, *No-* " *vember* the 11th, in the Reign of our " Soveraign Lord King *James*, of *England*, " *France*, and *Ireland*, the 18th, and of " *Scotland* the 54th, *Annoq; Dom.* 1620.

John Carver,
William Bradford,
Edward Winſlow,
William Brewſter,
Iſaac Allerton,
Miles Standiſh,
John Alden,
John Turner,
Francis Eaton,
James Chilton,
John Craxton,
John Billington,
Joſes Fletcher,
John Goodman,
Samuel Fuller,
Chriſtopher Martin,
William Mullins,
William White,
Richard Warren,
John Howland,
Stephen Hopkins,
Digery Prieſt,
Thomas Williams,
Gilbert Winſlow,
Edmond Margeſon,
Peter Browne,
Richard Bitteridge,
George Soule,
Edward Tilly,
John Tilly,
Francis Cook,
Thomas Rogers,
Thomas Tinker,
John Ridgdale,
Edward Fuller,
Richard Clarke,
Richard Gardiner,
John Allerton,
Thomas Engliſh,
Edward Doten,
Edward Lieſter.

SAD was the Condition of theſe poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no Accommodations for their Entertainment! moſt of them were reduced to a weak and ſickly Condition, by their Voyage, and now they were come to Port had no Friends to welcome them, no Houſes to receive them, nor Phyſicians to take care of them: The Country was full of Woods and Thickets, and began to look with a Winter Complexion; beſides

beſides they were under Apprehenſions from the *Indians*, who were on no good Terms with the *Europeans* at this Time; but there was no looking back; the Maſter of the Ship preſs'd them to look out for a Settlement, and threatned to ſet them and their Goods aſhore, and return home, if they did not uſe Expedition in it. He told them plainly, that he was reſolved to ſecure Proviſions for himſelf and his Men home, let them ſhift as they would. *Anno* 1620

So they immediately choſe Mr. *John Carver*, their Governour for one Year, and ſet Sixteen Men aſhore with Fire Arms to view the Country, and look out a convenient Place for a Settlement. Having marched about a Mile upon the Coaſt they diſcover'd Five *Indians*, whom they follow'd for ſeveral Miles, but could not come to the Speech of them; next Morning they ventured higher up into the Country, and came to a large Spot of clear Ground, where Corn had been planted: They diſcovered ſeveral Graves, the Remains of a Houſe, a great Kettle, and ſome Heaps of Sand in which they found ſeveral Baskets of Corn in the Ear, ſome of which they brought away with them; but not finding any Place fit to make a Settlement, they return'd next day to their Ship. In their way home they ſaw a young Tree bent down almoſt to the Ground with ſome Acorns under it. One of the Company going a little too near, it gave a ſudden Jerk, and caught him up by the Leg, where he muſt have hung, if his Friends had not come to his Relief: This was an *Indian* Deer-Trap.

After this the Maſter of the Ship with Thirty Men went out in the Boat; and coaſted along the Shore for two or three Leagues, but could find no Harbour fit to receive any thing bigger than a Boat: Having diſcover'd two

Anno 1620 Houſes cover'd with Matts, they went aſhore, and made up to them, but the People ran away: They found about ten Buſhels of Corn, ſome Beans, and a Bottle of Oil, which they brought away in their Boat, and made uſe of for Seed the next Spring. Some of the Company were for ſettling at this Creek, becauſe it was a good Harbour for Boats, tho' not for Ships; There was Ground ready cleared to their Hands, and the Place was healthy and defenſible: It was near *Cape Cod*, an excellent Place for Fiſhery: And laſtly, becauſe the Winter was ſo far advanced, that they could not go a Coaſting without the utmoſt Hazard, both of Men and Boat. Others again were for making farther Trial, till they could find a Harbour for Ships, and urged that they might ſail 20 Leagues to the Northward, where they had heard of an excellent Harbour for Ships, and good Fiſhing; but the Company could not be prevail'd with to try this laſt Experiment.

HOWEVER they reſolved to ſend out the Boat once more to go round the whole Bay of *Cape Cod*, and ſee if there was a Harbour for Ships. The chief of the Planters went on this Diſcovery, as Mr. *John Carver*, Governour, Mr. *William Bradford*, Mr. *Edward Winſlow*, Capt. *Miles Standiſh*, Mr. *John Howland*, Mr. *Richard Warren*, Mr. *Stephen Hopkins*, Mr. *Edward Tilly*, Mr. *John Tilly*, Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Coppin*, *John Allerton*, *Thomas Engliſh*, *Edward Doten*, with the Maſter-Gunner of the Ship and three of the Sailors: They ſet ſail on the 6th of *December*, the Weather being ſo cold that the Spra of the Sea froze upon their Cloaths. They got down that Night into the Bottom of the *Bay*, where they diſcovered ten *Indians* about a dead *Grampus*. They landed about a League off them, and lay aſhore all Night without any Diſturbance. Next Morning

Morning they divided their Company, coaſting along, ſome on Shore, and ſome in the Boat; but ſaw no People, nor any Place fit for a Settlement that Day. The whole Company lay aſhore next Night by the ſide of a *Creek*, where they made a *Barricado* of Boughs and Logs for their Lodging. Next Morning about Break of Day they were briskly attack'd by a Company of *Indians*, who let fly a Shower of Arrows among them, attended with a terrible Shout, after this Manner; *Woach woach ha, ha hoch woach.* Upon this they immediately ran to their Arms, which were no more than four Muskets, a few Swords and Battle-Axes, the other Muskets being in the Boat. The Musketeers were placed in two Lines, the former of which was order'd to fire, while thoſe in the Rear were making ready. The *Indians* ſtood ſeveral Fires; one in particular, having ſhelter'd himſelf behind a Tree within half a Musket-ſhot of the *Barricado*, let fly three Arrows, and ſtood three Diſcharges of a Musket before he ran away: The reſt of the *Indians* wheel'd about upon them that ran out of the *Barricado* towards the *Boat*, but not being able to do any Execution upon them, they retir'd. The *Engliſh* gather'd up eighteen of their Arrows, whereof ſome were headed with Braſs, others with Harts-Horn, and others with Eagles-Claws. Anno 1620

AFTER this they all went into the Boat, reſolving to be govern'd by their Pilot, who aſſur'd them that he knew of a good Harbour for Ships, which they might reach before Night: But in the Afternoon the Weather grew tempeſtuous, and the Sea ran ſo high, that they were in danger of being caſt away, for they had loſt their Maſt and Rudder, and had nothing to truſt to but their Oars; but having the Benefit of the Flood they ſtruck into Shore, where the

Anno 1620 Pilot and Mate were for running in the Boat among a *Cove* of *Breakers* right before the Wind, but a ſtout Sailor that was at the Helm bid them, *If they were Men, about with her, elſe they were all caſt away*; which they did, tho' it rain'd hard, and was very dark. In a little time they got under a Lee-ſhore, where they lay in ſafety all Night, and next Morning found themſelves on a ſmall Iſland, which they call'd *Clark's Iſland*, becauſe Mr. *Clark* the Mate was the firſt Man that ſtept aſhore. Here they reſted that Day, and the next being Lord's-Day, rendring Thanks to Almighty God for their late Preſervation. On Monday they ſounded the Harbour, which was call'd by the *Indians Patuxet*, and found it fit for Shipping: Next Day they march'd up into the Country, and diſcover'd divers Corn Fields, and little running Brooks, ſo they reſolv'd to pitch here, and returning to the Ship, they reported their Reſolution to the reſt of the Company.

ON the 15th of *December*, the whole Company weigh'd Anchor, and arrived next Day at the Harbour, which was a large Bay with two ſmall Iſlands in it; but the Coaſt was ſo ſhallow that the Ship was obliged to ride at Anchor above a Mile from the Shore; and though their Boat was very ſerviceable to them on this Occaſion, yet they were forc'd to wade a great Way in the Water to land their Goods. On the 19th they quitted the Ship, and on the 25th they began to erect a Store-houſe for their Goods, and ſome ſmall Cottages to preſerve them from the Weather; on the 28th they meaſur'd out the Ground, and divided their whole Company into Nineteen Families, allotting to every Perſon half a Pole in Breadth, and three in Length, for Lodging and Gardens; and to prevent all Diſputes about the Situation of each Family, they decided it by Lot:

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They agreed likewiſe upon ſome Laws, both for their Civil and Military Government, and called the Place of their Settlement by the Name of *NEW PLIMOUTH.* Anno 1620

BUT no ſooner were the Planters got aſhore but a ſad Mortality began to rage among them, occaſion'd partly by the Fatigues of their late Voyage, and partly by the Severity of the Weather, and Want of Neceſſaries, which in two or three Months time carried off above half the Company; ſo that out of above a hundred Planters, there remained not above Fifty, and of them not above Six or ſeven at a time, who were capable of helping the Reſt. Inexpreſſible were the Hardſhips they underwent the firſt Winter! * If the *Indians* had been appriz'd of their Circumſtances, they might have cut them off without any Trouble; but they appear'd only at a Diſtance, till the 16th of *March*, when one *Samoſet*, who had learn'd a little broken *Engliſh* from the Fiſhermen who traded to the Eaſtern Parts of the Country, came boldy to them, Soldier-like, with his Bow and Arrows in his Hand, and bid them Welcome: He was one of the *Sagamores* belonging to the Northern Parts about *Monhegin*, a Country about 5 or 6 Days Journey by Land from their Town, and was a Perſon of a free, eaſy Carriage, but quite naked except his Waſte, which was cover'd with a Piece of Leather, being a tall ſtraight Man, with long black Hair, but no Beard. The Planters entertain'd him in the beſt Manner they could, and having conferr'd with him concerning the State of the Country, the Number and the Strength of the Inhabitants, their Situation and Diſtance from the Place where they

* Incr. Mather's *Treatiſe of* New-England, *p.* 7.

Anno 1620 were, they diſmiſs'd him in the moſt friendly and obliging Manner. Some time after he came again with ſeveral other Natives, ſome of which were cloathed with Deer-Skins, and others had a ſort of large Hoſe that reach'd up to their Groins, and Pieces of Leather about their Waſtes, but the Chief of them was diſtinguiſh'd by a wild Cat's-skin on his Arm. They were tall, proper Men, of a brown Complection, like the *Engliſh* Gypſies; their Hair was cut ſhort before, but hung down very long behind, and was ſtuck with Feathers after ſeveral antick Faſhions. They eat and drank very freely with the *Engliſh*, and in return entertain'd them with ſome *Indian* Dances. They acquainted the Planters with the Deſign of their great *Sachem Maſſaſoiet* to make them a Viſit, and went home very well ſatisfy'd. On the 22d of *March Maſſaſoiet* himſelf, with his Brother *Quadequina*, and about 60 of his Friends and Attendants, came to *Plimouth* without any Arms; Capt. *Standiſh* met him at the Head of a File of Musketeers, and conducted him into a Houſe where a Seat of State was prepared for him, which was three or four Cuſhions piled upon a green Rug. *Maſſaſoiet* was a large, tall Man, middle-aged, of a grave Countenance, and ſparing of Speech: His Dreſs was little different from that of his Men, (the ſame with that before-mention'd) only he had a Chain of Fiſh-Bones about his Neck, in which Ornament all the Majeſty of his Garb conſiſted: His Face was painted with a murry Red, and both that and his Head were lick'd over with Oil, ſo that it may eaſily be imagin'd he made a very ſhining Figure: He had a long Knife hanging by a String at his Boſom, and behind on his Back a little Pouch of Tobacco: This was Furniture he never went without; but the Chain was only for high Days and ſelect Company:

pany: His Men had alſo their Bags of Tobacco at their Backs, and their Faces painted with a Variety of Colours. The *Governour* came into the Room attended with a Guard; a Drum and Trumpet marching before him; *Maſſaſoiet* having kiſs'd the *Governour*, they ſat down together, and preſently an Entertainment was brought in, conſiſting chiefly of Strong-Waters, a thing the *Savages* love very well; and the *Sachem* took ſuch a large Draught of it at once, as made him ſweat all the Time he ſtaid. Anno 1620

AMONG the Attendants of *Maſſaſoiet* was *Squanto*, or *Tiſquantum*, who had been kidnapp'd away by *Hunt* * the Interloper, and ſold to the *Spaniards*, from whence he made his Eſcape into *England*, and was Servant to one Mr. *Slaney*, who us'd him ſo well, that he lov'd the *Engliſh* ever after, and had no other Reaſon but the the Love of Liberty to return into his own Country. This *Squanto* was a hearty Friend of the Colony, and brought his Countrymen to have a good Opinion of them, by aſſuring them that *Hunt*, who had carried off him and ſo many of his Countrymen, was a declar'd Villain. He ſerv'd now as an Interpreter between the Great *Sachem Maſſaſoiet*, and the *Governour* of the Colony, who, after mutual Civilities, and ſome Preſents made, entred into an Alliance: The Conditions of which were as follows;

Firſt, That neither *Maſſaſoiet*, nor any of his, ſhould injure or do hurt to any of the Colony.

Secondly, That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he ſhould ſend the Offender that they might puniſh him.

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* New-England *Memorial*, p. 24.

Thirdly,

Anno 1621

Thirdly, That if any thing was taken away from any of *theirs*, he ſhould cauſe it to be reſtored, and they ſhould do the like to *his*.

Fourthly, That if any did unjuſtly war againſt *him*, they would aid him; and if any did war againſt *them*, he ſhould aid them.

Fifthly, That he ſhould ſend to his neighbour Confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewiſe compriz'd in theſe Conditions of Peace.

Sixthly, That when his Men came to them on any Occaſion, they ſhould leave their Arms (*viz.* Bows and Arrows) behind them.

Seventhly, That, ſo doing, their Sovereign Lord King *James* would eſteem him as his Friend and Ally.

THE *Sachem* was not only content with theſe Conditions, but was willing to become a Subject of the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and gave away all the Lands adjacent to the Planters and their Heirs for ever. After this he return'd home, but *Squanto* continu'd with the Colony as their Interpreter, and was very ſerviceable to them in directing them in the Manner of planting their Corn, and of catching Fiſh; as alſo in piloting them up and down the Coaſt, and he never left them till he dy'd.

THE *May-Flower* rid at Anchor in the Bay all the Winter, tho' the Captain would have been gone much ſooner if his Men had not been ſo ſick; but the Spring coming on they recover'd, and he weighed Anchor about the latter End of *March*,

IN the Month of *April* the Governour Mr. *John Carver* fell ſick and dyed: He was a Gentleman

tleman of a conſiderable Eſtate, which he ſpent in this Project, and of ſuch a charitable Diſpoſition that he did not ſhun the meaneſt Offices of Love and Service to the Sick; but not being us'd to ſuch Fatigues and Hardſhips, he fell into a Diſtemper, which carried him off in a few Days. The Colony buried him with as much Solemnity as they were capable, diſcharging ſeveral Volleys of Shots over his Grave. *Anno* 1621

MR. *William Bradford* was choſen his Succeſſor, who in the Beginning of *July* ſent Mr. *Winſlow* and Mr. *Hopkins* on an Embaſſy to *Maſſaſoiet* with *Squanto* for their Guide and Interpreter: Their Commiſſion was to view the Country, to obſerve his military Strength, and to confirm the Peace of *Plimouth*. The *Indians* all along by the Way treated 'em with a great deal of Courteſy, and plain honeſt Freedom; they ſupplied them with Proviſions, carried their Baggage, and waded thro' the Rivers with them on their Backs. But the Counrry was very much depopulated; there were fine Corn Fields and Paſture Grounds, without either Cattle or Inhabitants, the Plague having lately ſwept them away. About *a River*, where formerly Abundance of People had dwelt, there were but two *Savages* remaining, and thoſe both old Men, unfit for the Hazards of War, or the Defence of their Country; yet as ſoon as they ſaw the *Engliſh* coming, they ran to the oppoſite Bank of the River, and ſtood upon their Guard with Bow and Arrows in their Hands, and with a reſolute Boldneſs demanded Who and what they were, intending if they were Enemies, to have dyed rather than ſuffer them to paſs the River; but hearing they were Friends, they entertained them with the beſt Food they had. Upon their Arrival at *Pokanoket* the ordinary Reſidence of the Great *Sachem*, they made him a Preſent of a red Cotton Coat trim'd

Anno 1621 trim'd with Lace, which was very acceptable: The *Sachem* in Return treated them with the utmoſt Civilities. Mr. *Winſlow* was lodged on the royal Bed, which was nothing but a few Planks rais'd about a Foot high from the Ground. *Maſſaſoiet* and his Queen lay at one End of it, under a thin Mat, and the Embaſſadors with two or three of the Grandees at the other; but the Court was ſo ill furniſhed with Proviſions that the Embaſſadors were almoſt ſtarv'd: However having confirm'd the Peace, they return'd home, and reported that *Maſſaſoiet*'s Country was very much waſted and depopulated with the Plague; but that the *Norrhaganſets*, who lived on the other Side of the Bay, were numerous and very formidable.

ANOTHER *Indian* came to live among the *Engliſh* about this time, whoſe Name was *Hobbamock*, a luſty Youth, and of good Repute among his Countrymen: *Squanto* and he being ſent among the *Indians* about an Affair of Conſequence, were ſeiz'd at *Namasket* by *Coubatant* the petty *Sachem* of the Place, only becauſe they were Friends of the *Engliſh*. *Coubatant* was going to ſtab *Hobbamock*, but being a ſtrong Man he clear'd himſelf of him, and run away to *Plimouth*; but *Squanto* was ſecured. The Governor hereupon diſpatch'd away Capt. *Miles Standiſh* with 14 Men to releaſe *Squanto*, and if they had kill'd him, to make Repriſals. *Coubatant* hearing of the Force that was coming againſt him abſconded, and ſet *Squanto* at Liberty; with whom the Captain return'd, having only wounded three Men as they were preſſing out of *Coubatant*'s Houſe, which he had inveſted before he knew that *Coubatant* had abſconded.

THIS little Expedition ſtruck ſuch Terror into the neighbouring *Indians*, that their *Sachems* came in, and ſubſcribed the following Inſtrument. *Sep-*

Anno 1621

September the 13*th*, 1621.

"KNOW all Men by theſe Preſents, That "we whoſe Names are underwritten "do acknowledge ourſelves to be the Loyal "Subjects of King *James*, King of *Great Britain*, "*France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* "In witneſs whereof, and as a Teſtimonial of "the ſame, we have ſubſcribed our Names or "Marks as followeth:

Ohquamehud,	*Nattawahunt*,	*Quadaquina*,
Cawnacome,	*Caunbatant*,	*Huttamoiden*,
Obbatinua,	*Chikkatabak*,	*Apadnow.*

COUBATANT made uſe of the Mediation of *Maſſaſoiet* to make his Peace with the *Engliſh*, but would not truſt himſelf among them for a long time after. All the neighbouring Princes courted their Friendſhip, except *Canonicus* Prince of the *Narrhaganſets*, who ſent a Meſſenger to the Plantation with a Bundle of Arrows tied together with a Snake's-Skin; which *Squanto* told them was a Declaration of War. The Governor having receiv'd the Arrows, ſent the Meſſenger back with this reſolute Anſwer, *That if they lov'd War, they might begin as ſoon as they would; he did not fear them, nor ſhould they find him unprovided.* He likewiſe ſent a Meſſenger of his own to *Canonicus* with ſome Powder and Ball tied up in the ſame Snake's-Skin, which check'd the Inſolence of the Barbarians for the preſent; for they were ſo terrified with the Powder, that they would not receive it into their Houſes. However this put the *Engliſh* on paliſading their little Town, and making Gates in convenient Places, which were lock'd every Night; and upon keeping a conſtant Watch, to prevent

Anno 1621 prevent a Surpriſe, the Soldiers were divided into four Companies, and every one knew his Poſt, in caſe of an Alarm.

ON the 18th of *September*, the Planters ſent out Capt. *Standiſh* and 10 Men in their Boat to the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay, with *Squanto* for their Interpreter. But they had no ſooner turn'd the Point of the Harbour, but they were called back by the Diſcharge of a Cannon from the *Colony*, who had been alarm'd by an *Indian* coming to them with his face cover'd over with Blood, and telling them, that *Maſſaſoiet* had join'd with the *Narrhaganſets* to aſſault them in the Captain's Abſence, and that he had receiv'd all thoſe Wounds for diſſuading them from it. The *Colony* were in the utmoſt Conſternation at this Report, but *Hobbamock* perſwaded them to be eaſy; and diſpatch'd away his Wife to the Court of *Maſſaſoiet* for Intelligence, who brought back word, that all was well, and that *Maſſaſoiet* was concern'd that the *Engliſh* ſhould miſtruſt him. It appeared afterwards, that this was one of *Squanto*'s Sham-Plots, which had like to have coſt him his Life; for the *Sachem* ſent a couple of *Tawnies* with his own Knife, to bring him dead or alive, who had certainly executed their Commiſſion, if the *Engliſh* had not protected him, and interceded with the angry Prince for his Pardon. This Fright being over, the Captain and his Men purſued their Voyage to the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay. They view'd the Bay, and were civilly entertain'd by the Natives, with whom they traffick'd; they were ſo charm'd with the Situation of that Part of the Country, that they wiſh'd heartily they had ſettled there; but it was too late; for they had now fitted up their Cottages againſt Winter, and were buſy in getting in their Harveſt, which muſt have been loſt, if they had attempted to remove. In the

ſame

ſame Month arrived the *Fortune*, a ſmall Veſſel from *England*, with thirty five Paſſengers for the Plantation, but no Proviſions, which occaſioned a Famine among them ſoon after; for the Harveſt prov'd very indifferent this Year, the Seed which the Planters brought from *England* being either damag'd, or not ripening, becauſe it was ſown in the Spring; nor did the *Indian* Corn yield any conſiderable Produce, for want of Skill in the planting it. *Anno* 1622

ABOUT the latter End of *May* came in a ſmall Ship, belonging to Mr. *Thomas Weſton*, Merchant, with ſeven Paſſengers, but no Proviſions, and after that, two more, with ſixty Paſſengers, who were entertain'd at *Plimouth* all the Summer, and then removed to the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay: They were a diſorderly Company of Men, and ſoon forced to break up, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place. By the Return of one of theſe Veſſels, which went forward to *Virginia*, the Governour received the melancholy News of a dreadful Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, which was executed on *March* 22d, 1622, wherein three hundred and thirty four Perſons were cut in Pieces; Capt. *Hudſton*, in his Letter to his Friends at *Plimouth*, ſays, that four hundred Perſons would not make good their Loſs; and then adds theſe Words, *I entreat you remember the old Rule, Happy is he whom other Mens Harms do make to beware.* Upon this, they built a Timber-Fort, with a flat Roof and Battlements; mounted ſeveral Pieces of Cannon upon it, and kept Guard in it Night and Day: It was a conſiderable Work for the few Hands that were employ'd about it, but the Terror of the *Virginia* Maſſacre, with the Fear of an Inſurrection of the *Narrhaganſets*, made them work Night and Day 'till it was finiſhed.

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Anno 1622 THE Weather prov'd very unſeaſonable the former Part of this Summer; for from the middle of *May* to the middle of *July*, they had no Rain but a conſtant Sun, which occaſioned a very great Drought, and threatned the Loſs of the whole Harveſt; but the refreſhing Showers which fell towards the latter End of *July* and *Auguſt* recovered the Corn, ſo as to afford them a pretty tolerable Crop: But tho' the Crop exceeded their Expectation, they all foreſaw it could not laſt the Year round, tho' they ſhould husband it never ſo well; nor could they get a Supply of Corn from the Neighbouring *Indians*, becauſe they had nothing to give in Exchange for it. But towards the End of the Year there came in by Accident a ſmall trading Veſſel with a good Quantity of *Engliſh* Beads, Knives, Sciſſars &c. on board: The Colony bought them all up with their *Coat Beaver*, at any Rate, and by this Means were enabled again to trade with the *Indians* for Corn, and other Neceſſaries.

CAPT. *Standiſh* was ſent away immediately with the Shallop to traffick with the *Indians* for Corn, and return'd in a few Days richly laden to the Joy of the whole Colony. In this Expedition there happen'd an odd Adventure, which may give the Reader an Idea of the brutiſh Nature of theſe poor Savages: While the Captain went aſhoar at *Noſſet* to barter with the Natives of thoſe Parts, one of them ſtole ſome of his *Toys* out of the Shallop; the Captain hereupon went to the *Sachem*, and demanded the ſtolen Goods on Pain of military Execution, which terrified him to ſuch a Degree, that he came with his Attendants next Morning, and ſaluted the Captain in the moſt humble Manner, by putting out his Tongue that one might ſee the Root of it, and licking the Captain's Hands,

all

all his Men doing the like. He then made him a Leg after an awkward Faſhion, as *Squanto* had inſtructed him, and reſtored the *Toys*, telling the Captain that he had *much beaten* the Rogue that had ſtolen them. Anno 1623

ABOUT the End of this Year *Squanto* died at *Mannamoik* near *Cape Cod*, being on a trading Voyage with the *Engliſh*, who were buying Corn in thoſe Parts. He was an arch Knave, who by going between the *Engliſh* and *Indians* got a great many rich Preſents, and by his dexterous Management became a Perſon of great Significancy to both Parties, 'till the Diſcovery of his ſham Plot againſt *Maſſaſoiet*, after which he durſt never truſt himſelf among his own Countrymen. He perſuaded the *Savages* that the *Engliſh* had the Plague buried in their Store-Houſe, which they could let out, and ſend among their Enemies when they pleaſed; and that it was owing to his Intereſt that all the *Indians* were not deſtroy'd. The Planters had certainly a very great Loſs of him, for he lov'd them, and was very ſerviceable to them as their Interpreter. He left ſeveral Legacies among his *Engliſh* Acquaintance, and deſired the Governour to pray, *That he might go to the* Engliſh *Man's God in Heaven.*

MR. *Weſton*'s Men who ſettled in the *Maſſachuſet* Bay laſt Summer, at a Place call'd by the Indians *Weſaguſquaſet*, now known by the Name of *Weymouth*, having liv'd in a riotous and diſorderly Manner, began now to be in want of Proviſions. The Governour of *Plimouth* gave them all the Aſſiſtance he could, but they liv'd too faſt for Men that were to begin the World with a little; When they had barter'd away all their Goods for *Indian* Corn, they ſold their Cloaths and Bedding; Some of them became Servants to the *Indians*, and would cut their Wood, and draw their Water for a Cap full of

Anno 1623 Corn; the major Part turn'd Robbers; but all was too little to ſupply their Wants: Some died with Hunger; One as he was gathering Shell-Fiſh ſtuck faſt in the Mud, and being ſo weak as not to be able to get out, periſh'd in the Place; The reſt left their Dwellings, and liv'd up and down in the Woods upon Ground Nuts and Clams, whereby they became the Scorn of the *Indians*, who inſulted them in a moſt barbarous Manner; for when they were dreſſing their Victuals, the *Indians* would come, and as ſoon as it was ready eat it up. If any of them had a ſorry Blanket to wrap himſelf in, the *Indians* would take it, and make him lye all Night in the Cold. Miſerable was the Condition that they were reduced to! For as their Neceſſities forced 'em to ſteal from the *Indians*, the *Indians* made no Conſcience of plundring them, and had entred into Conſpiracy to cut 'em all to pieces, which had certainly been executed in a few Days, if it had not been ſtrangely diſcover'd by the following Accident.

THE Governour of *Plimouth* having receiv'd Advice that *Maſſaſoiet* their Friend and Ally was ſick, ſent Mr. *Winſlow* and Mr. *Hopkins* to viſit him, with *Hobamock* for their Guide and Interpreter. As they were upon their Journey they had News that *Maſſaſoiet* was dead, upon which *Hobamock* burſt out into Tears, crying out, *Neen womaſu, neen womaſu, Sagamus*; *My Sachem, my Sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee.* He would then turn to Mr. *Winſlow*, and run out into a long Harangue in Praiſe of his Maſter; and bid him depend upon it, that he ſhould never find any other *Indian* Prince ſo juſt, honeſt, and good as he: But when they came to *Pokanoket* they were agreeably ſurpriz'd with the News of *Maſſaſoiet*'s being yet alive, tho' in a Condition in which his Life was not long to be expected:

expected: His Sight was gone, but his other Senſes were pretty entire. When Mr. *Winſlow* came to his Bedſide, and *Hobamock* told him there was his good Friend *Winſlow*, he put out his Hand, and faintly repeated theſe Words, *Keen Winſnow?* that is, *Art thou Winſlow?* for they can't pronounce the Letter L, but uſe N in the room of it. To which Mr. *Winſlow* replying *Ahhe, Yes*; he return'd, *Mattaneen Wonkanet namen, Winſnow*; that is, *O Winſlow, I ſhall never ſee thee again!* And in Truth, the Noiſe and Buſtle that was about him was enough to have kill'd a Man without any other Diſtemper; for being mightily belov'd among the *Indians* on the Account of his Virtues, there was a vaſt Concourſe of People about his Houſe and Chamber, making uſe of their Charms and Incantations for his Recovery. Six or eight Women were conſtantly employ'd in chafing his Arms and Legs to keep the natural Heat in them, and theſe made as great a Noiſe as the Inchanters. *Maſſaſoiet* ſubmitted to all theſe Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of his Country, concluding himſelf a dead Man. But Mr. *Winſlow* comforted him in the beſt manner he could: He look'd into his Mouth, and ſcrap'd his Tongue, which was very much furr'd, and gave him ſome Cordials; which had ſuch an Effect, that in a few Days he was out of Danger. *Anno* 1623

'Tis not to be expreſs'd how kindly the Prince took this Viſit; and to make them the beſt Return he could, he diſcover'd the whole Plot of the *Maſſachuſet Indians*, how many *Sachems* they had drawn in, and what Applications they had made to him: He adviſ'd them at the ſame time not to loſe any time, but ſeize the Heads of the Conſpirators immediately, or elſe *Weſton*'s Men would all be cut off; and ſo, with infinite Thanks, and freſh Aſſurances of Love and Friend-

Anno 1623 ſhip to the *Engliſh*, he ſent them home. Upon their Arrival at *Plimouth* they related *Maſſaſoiet*'s News to the Governour, who immediately diſpatch'd away Capt. *Standiſh* with eight Men for the Security of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, of which *Hobamock* was one. The Captain found the Remains of *Weſton*'s Men reduced to the laſt Extremities, the *Indians* being Maſters of their little Fort, and treating them as ſo many Slaves and Vaſſals; the Reaſon why they had not maſſacred them being only this, becauſe they were not in a Capacity to prevent the Revenge that was to be expected from *Plimouth*. Capt. *Standiſh* endeavour'd to conceal the Deſign of his coming into thoſe Parts: But the guilty Wretches ſuſpected their Plot was diſcover'd; however they reſolv'd to put the beſt Face on their Affairs, and try if they could fright the Captain away. *Wituwamet* and *Peckſnot* were two Champions in whom they placed a great deal of Confidence; *Peckſnot* talking one Day with *Hobamock* ſaid, *We know that Capt.* Standiſh *is come to kill us all: Tell him that we know it, but fear him not, neither will we run away from him: Let him begin as ſoon as he will, he ſhall not come upon us unawares.* Another time he rally'd the Captain upon the Smallneſs of his Stature; *You* (ſays he) *tho' a great Captain, are but a little Man; and tho' I am no Sachem, yet am a Man of great Strength and Courage.* *Wituwamet* likewiſe would come among the *Engliſh*, and play his rude Pranks; Once he was bragging of the Goodneſs of the Knife he had in his Hand, on the Handle of which was carv'd a Woman's Face: *But* (ſays he) *I have a better than this at home, with a Man's Face carv'd on the Handle, and theſe two Knives I intend ſhall be marry'd together. That Knife at home* (continu'd he) *has done many an Execution on the* Engliſh *and* French, *and as for this*

this, Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen matta cuts, *by and by it ſhall ſee, and by and by it ſhall eat and devour, though without ſpeaking a Word.* But the Captain kept himſelf on his Guard, reſolving not to break with them till he found a favourable Opportunity, tho' they often provoked him by whetting their Knives before his Face, and uſing ſeveral threatning Geſtures and Actions. At length the Captain obſerving theſe two Hectors with two more of their Companions in a Room by themſelves, went in to them with juſt the ſame Number of his own Men, and ordering the Door to be ſhut, fell himſelf upon *Peckſnot*, and after a long Struggle got him down and cut his Throat with his own long Knife. The *Engliſhman* that fought with *Wituwamet* killed him too, and ſo did the third; but the fourth Man, who was *Wituwamet*'s Brother, was taken alive, and afterwards hanged. 'Tis incredible how many Wounds theſe two valiant *Savages* receiv'd before they dyed; how they ſtrugled, and catch'd at the Weapons to the laſt Breath, and dyed without any unmanly Noiſes or Signs of Fear. *Anno* 1623

No ſooner was the Fall of theſe two Champions known; but a Body of *Indians* let fly a Shower of Arrows among the *Engliſh*; the Captain at the Head of his Men challeng'd their *Sachem* to ſingle Combat, but receiv'd no Anſwer; ſo he order'd his Men to fire upon them, which frighten'd them away into the Woods. Some Time after, the *Sachem* pleading Ignorance of what his Men had done, begg'd Pardon, and ſued for Peace, which was granted him; but a Year or two after the Plague deſtroy'd him, and almoſt all his People, which opened the Way for the *Maſſachuſet* Settlement in the Year 1629. Capt. *Standiſh* offer'd to conduct Mr. *Weſton*'s Men to *Plimouth*, where they might remain 'till they could agree how to diſpoſe of themſelves;

Anno 1623 they thank'd him for his Kindneſs, but begg'd him to ſupply them with a little Corn, and they would ſail away with their Veſſel to the Eaſtward to meet Mr. *Weſton*, and if they miſs'd him to make the beſt of their Way to *England*; the *Captain* freely gave them all the Corn he could ſpare; ſo they ſhip'd off their Effects, and went aboard; and when the *Captain* had ſeen them out of the Bay under Sail, he return'd home with the Head of *Wituwamet*, which was ſet upon the Fort.

THUS ended *Weſton*'s Settlement, which was ſet up in Oppoſition to *Plimouth*: Mr. *Weſton* was originally one of the *Plimouth*-Adventurers, but had now broken off from them, and ſet up for himſelf. He obtained a Patent for Part of the *Maſſachuſet* Bay under Pretence of propagating the Diſcipline of the Church of *England* in *America*; but his Men were ſo ſcandalouſly vile and wicked, that they became a Nuiſance to the very Savages, who would infallibly have cut 'em all to pieces, if the Colony of *Plimouth* had not ſhew'd them more Charity, than in all Probability they would have ſhown the Colony, if it had been in the like Circumſtances.

SOON after the breaking up of this Settlement, Mr. *Weſton* himſelf with ſome Fiſhermen arriv'd in the Bay, where he heard of the deplorable Fate of his Plantation; and the poor Man himſelf met with one not much better: For having loſt his Boat in a Storm between *Merrimack* and *Paſcataqua*, he fell into the Hands of the *Savages* who pillaged him of all that he had ſaved from the Sea, and ſtrip'd him to his very Shirt. At *Paſcataqua* he borrowed ſomething to cover his Nakedneſs, and in this Condition came to *Plimouth*, and was ſaved from ſtarving by that very Colony, which he had a thouſand Ways endeavour'd to deſtroy.

BUT

BUT to return to *Plimouth*, All Proviſions had hitherto been in common among the *Planters*, but Things being now a little more ſettled, the Governour divided to every Family a Portion of Land and Corn, for their proper Uſe; which after ſome time had a very good Effect: For when the People knew that the Produce of their Labour would be their own, it kindled an Emulation among them; ſo that the Fields were clear'd, and a much greater Quantity of Corn planted next Year than would otherwiſe have been. But alas! while the Seed was in the Ground, the People were forc'd to live in a manner without Bread; nor had they a Store of any other Sort of Proviſion, but depended entirely on their Labour and Induſtry: Their Boat and Net were conſtantly employ'd in catching of *Baſſe*; when that fail'd, all Hands were employ'd in digging Ground Nuts and Shell-fiſh out of the Sands. Sometimes they ſhot a few Fowl, but they had no Cattel, nor any kind of Roots to ſupply the Want of Bread: Beſides they were in a very ragged Condition for Want of Cloaths, thoſe they brought over with them from *England* being quite worn out; ſo that if Hunger and Nakedneſs in a ſavage Country are Characters of Miſery, it muſt be allowed that the *New-England* Planters were remarkably diſtinguiſhed by 'em. *Anno* 1623

BUT at length about *Midſummer* two Ships arrived from the Adventurers in *England*, with Supplies for the Plantation, the *Anne*, *William Pierce* Maſter, and the *James*, Mr. *Bridges* Maſter; this laſt was a ſmall Veſſel of 44 Tuns, built for the Service of the Planters in the Coaſting Trade; and brought over ſeveral Paſſengers, who ſpent their Lives and Eſtates in promoting the Intereſts of the Colony.

ABOUT the middle of *September* another Attempt was made to begin a Settlement in the

Anno 1623 *Maſſachuſet*-Bay, at the Place where *Weſton*'s Men had broke up, by Capt. *Gorges*, and ſeveral Families that came over with him; the Captain had a Commiſſion from the Council of *New-England* to be General Governour of the Country: Capt. *Francis Weſt*, *Chriſtopher Levett*, Eſq; the Governour of *Plimouth* for the Time being, and ſuch others as he ſhould approve, being appointed his Council; with full *Power to himſelf and any Three of them, whereof himſelf always to be One, to do and execute what to them ſhould ſeem good in all Cauſes, Capital, Criminal and Civil.* With him came over Mr. *Morrel*, a Miniſter, with an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion of, Superintendent of the Churches, but he made no Uſe of it; nor was the Captain's Commiſſion very long-liv'd: All the Weight of it fell on the Head of poor *Weſton*, for the Captain meeting him at *Plimouth*, ſummon'd him to appear before the Council, to anſwer ſuch Things as he ſhould lay to his Charge; which were the riotous Behaviour of his Men at the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, by which the Peace of the Country was diſturb'd, and the Plantation ruin'd; and his abuſing his Father Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who had procured him a Licenſe from the King, to tranſport ſome Pieces of great Cannon for a Fort in *New-England*, which he had ſold in foreign Countries for his private Uſe, for which Sir *Ferdinando*, and the Council of *New-England* had been ſeverely reprimanded. *Weſton* anſwered to the firſt, that he thought he had ſufficiently ſmarted for that already; the ſecond he excuſed upon his Knees as well as he could; and the Captain, at the Interceſſion of the Governour of *Plimouth*, took his Bond for his Appearance, when called for; but the poor Man going for *England*, ſome Time after died at *Briſtol*, which put an End to all his Troubles: The Captain alſo imagining himſelf a greater

Man

Man than he really was, and not finding Things anſwer his Expectations in this new World, left his Colony after a few Months, and return'd to *England*, and his Biſhop followed him ſoon after; upon which the Plantation broke up, and went ſome to *England*, and the reſt to *Virginia*. *Anno* 1624

THE Colony had been all this while without a *Patent* for their Lands; they had employ'd one Mr. *William Peirce* to ſollicit this Affair with the Grand Council of *Plimouth*, and the Court of *England*; but he, like a Knave, procured the *Patent* to be taken out in his own Name, reſerving to himſelf and his Heirs a vaſt Tract of Land, intending the Planters ſhould hold it as Tenants under him; He deſign'd to go over himſelf with his *Patent*, and took on Board above an hundred Paſſengers; but after he had put to Sea twice, he return'd into Port with his Ship almoſt torn to Pieces in a Storm, which ſo diſcourag'd him, that he aſſign'd back his *Patent* to the Company, and reſolv'd to concern himſelf no further in the Affair.

THE Planters being advis'd of *Peirce*'s Treachery, ſent over Mr. *Edward Winſlow* laſt Year to obtain a *Patent*, which at laſt he effected and brought over the Beginning of *March*; it was taken out in the Name of the Governour *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Aſſociates and Aſſigns, by which Mr. *Bradford* was made Lord of the Country; but when the Number of Freemen encreas'd, the General Court deſir'd him to ſurrender it into their Hands, which he generouſly did. Thus the *Colony* became a Kind of Republick by *Patent* from K. *James* I. whereby they were enabled to chuſe a Governour, Council, and General Court, who ſhould have full Power of making and executing all Laws which ſhould be judg'd neceſſary for the publick Good, the Sovereignty being ſtill re-

Anno 1624 reſerved to the Crown of *England*, as the Reader will obſerve in the *Charter*, which I have given a Place in the *Appendix*.* By this Time the Number of Inhabitants was ſo much encreas'd, that inſtead of one Aſſiſtant which the *Governour* had before, it was found neceſſary to enlarge the Number to five, reſerving only to the *Governour* a caſting Vote: In the Year 1633, the *Council* was encreaſed to *ſeven*, and ſo continued 'till their *Charter* was taken from them.

Mr. *Winſlow* brought over a conſiderable Supply for the Plantation, and among the reſt, three Heifers and a Bull, which were the firſt Neat Cattle that came into *New-England*; in the ſame Ship came over a certain Preacher, whoſe Name was *Lyford*, a crafty Knave, who, under the Cloak of Religion, and a profound Humility, inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the Governour's Affection, that he made him his Confident, and conſulted him upon the moſt important Affairs of State; 'till at length obſerving him to ſow Diſcontents among the People, he treated him with a little more Coldneſs. *Lyford*'s Deſign was to ruin the Reputation of the Colony with the Merchants-Adventurers in *England*, that ſo they might be afraid to trade with them any longer. The Governour did not ſo much as ſuſpect his Deſign, 'till the Return of the Ship for *England*, which brought him over, when he and one Mr. *Oldham* were obſerved to ſend away a large Pacquet of Letters, and drop ſome words which gave Suſpicion of their carrying on a private Correſpondence to the Prejudice of the Plantation; the Governour hereupon, under Pretence of going a League or two out to Sea in Company with the Ship, went aboard, and opening

* *Appendix* N°. I.

his

his and *Oldham*'s Pacquet, took Copies of the moſt remarkable Letters, and ſent them forward to *England*, bringing back the Originals in his Pocket. *Lyford* and *Oldham* were all this while working up the People's Diſcontent, both as to the Government of the Church and Common-wealth; and when they thought their Party ſtrong enough, they ſet up a ſeparate Meeting on the Lord's Day; the Governour hereupon calling a general Court, charged them with ſeditious Practices tending to the Ruin of the Colony, which they ſtiffly denied; but their own Letters being produced againſt them in Court *Lyford* was ſtruck dumb, and *Oldham*, like a mad Man, called out to the People in a Rage; *My Maſters, where are your Hearts? Now ſhew your Courage; you have often complained to me, now is the Time, if you will do any Thing I will ſtand by you.* But no Body anſwered him: The Court obſerving his inſolent Behaviour, ſentenc'd him to depart the Plantation immediately, and *Lyford* within ſix Months and neither of them to return without Leave from the Governour: *Oldham* however, had the Impudence to return again the next Year, and intereſt himſelf in the Election of a *Governour*, but he was arreſted, and made to run the Gauntlet between two Ranks of Musketeers, who gave him every one a Blow on his Breech with the Butt-end of their Muskets as he paſs'd thro' them, and was then ſent away. *Lyford* at ſix Months End giving no Hopes of Amendment, left the Colony, and went to *Virginia*, where in a little Time he died. *Anno* 1624

BUT while the little Commonwealth was ſtruggling with theſe Incendiaries within her own Bowels, the whole Settlement had like to have been deſtroy'd by a dreadful Fire, which broke out on the fifth of *November*, juſt againſt the *Store-Houſe*, where all their Proviſions were lodg'd.

Anno 1624 lodg'd. The Occaſion was this; ſeveral Sailors belonging to a Ship in the Harbour, making merry in a little Houſe, laid ſo much Wood on the Fire as took Hold of the Thatching, and ſet all into a Flame: The whole *Colony* were immediately alarm'd, and ran to the *Store-Houſe*, which one Part of the Company was order'd to defend, while the other was employed in putting out the Fire. Such was the Confuſion and Cry upon this Occaſion, that they knew not what they did; the common People ſuſpected a Conſpiracy, nor was it altogether without Reaſon; for when the Fire was got under at the Place, where it began, a Smoke was ſeen to riſe out of a *Shed* that join'd to the *Store-Houſe*, which was made up of the Boughs of Trees; and upon Examination, a lighted Fire-brand of about an Ell long was found in it, which all that ſaw, concluded, muſt be laid there with a Deſign; but however, no more Damage was done than the Loſs of three Houſes, with all the Goods that were in them, which was indeed the Ruin of thoſe Families, and occaſion'd their Return to *England*.

THE *Colony* at this Time (ſays Mr. *Smith*) conſiſted of 180 Perſons, who followed their ſeveral Trades both by Sea and Land, but lived together, as yet, like one Family upon the common Stock; for tho' every Man had his Diviſion of Land, yet the Produce of it was put into the publick Store-Houſe, and divided out to each Family according to their Number. The Town conſiſted of 32 Dwelling-Houſes, and was paled in about half a Mile in Compaſs; in the midſt of the Incloſure upon a riſing Ground was the Fort, upon the Top of which was a Watch-Tower, from whence the Centinel might ſee a great many Leagues out to Sea. They had made a Salt-Work, and this Year freighted a Ship of 180 Tuns with Fiſh cured with their own Salt: But notwithſtand-

ſtanding all this, the Adventurers who were about ſeventy in Number, and had expended about ſeven Thouſand Pounds upon the Settlement, began to be diſpirited; *Lyford*'s Letters had made ill Impreſſions upon them, which, together with the ſmall Returns the Planters were capable of making, broke the Society in Pieces, and made the major Part of them reſolve to have nothing more to do with the Settlement, as not being willing to throw away good Money after bad. This muſt infallibly have ruined the Plantation, if God by his Providence had not given them ſuch a plentiful Harveſt this Summer, as was not only ſufficient for themſelves, but enabled them to begin a Trade with the *Indians*. Anno 1625

THE Colony were Maſters but of two ſmall Shallops, one of which they cover'd with a Deck to keep the Corn dry, and ſent her a trading Voyage, as far as *Kenebeck*, 50 Leagues to the Eaſtward; they had neither Pilot, nor Sailors that underſtood the working of a Ship, but yet they made a proſperous Voyage, and a very good Return; Capt. *Standiſh* in the mean Time was ſent to *England*, with 800 Weight of *Beaver*, and a great Quantity of *Fiſh* and *Furs* for the Adventurers, in two Ships, which came on a Trading Voyage to the Plantations on their own Account; but when they were got almoſt within Sight of *Plimouth*, one of the Ships was taken by a *Turkiſh* Man of War, and carried to *Sally*, which put an End to all their Hopes of encouraging the Adventurers to trade with them, tho' the Captain did every Thing that lay in his Power to perſwade them to it; but they were out of Humour, having received ill Impreſſions from the Enemies of the Plantation, who had repreſented them, as Monſters in Religion, and covetous, deſigning Men in the Way of

Anno 1620 of Trade, which made 'em put off the Captain with fair Promiſes, which they never intended to perform. The Planters were certainly under their Laſh, on Account of the Articles they ſigned with them at their firſt ſetting out, which made the Captain endeavour to bring them to a Compoſition, but the *Plague* being then in *London*, he could do but little towards it: Mr. *Allerton* went over about a Twelvemonth after on the ſame Errand, and brought the Matter to a tolerable Iſſue, which was this, That, whereas by a former Agreement, the Adventurers had ſold all their Right to the Planters for 1800 Pounds, which they were to pay by 200 Pounds a Year, they now agreed to abate part of the Money, upon Condition that the Planters diſcharg'd the Remainder at once, which was accordingly done.

THE *Colony* had all this while lived in Hopes of being join'd by their Paſtor, and the reſt of their Brethren from *Leyden*, but the unwelcome News which Captain *Standiſh* brought over of the Death of Mr. *Robinſon* put an End to all further Expectations from thence. Mr. *John Robinſon* was a Man of a great deal of Learning and good Senſe, in his younger Days, he had eſpouſed moſt of the rigid Principles of the *Brownifts*, and writ in their Defence, but when he came abroad into the World, and had Opportunities of converſing with learned Men of different Sentiments from himſelf, he laid aſide his Uncharitableneſs, and allowed the Members of the *Dutch* Churches the Liberty of Occaſional Communion with his; he writ ſeveral learned Treatiſes, to juſtifie his ſeparating from the Church of *England*, which were univerſally eſteem'd, and reprinted after his Death; his Adverſaries call'd him a *Semi-Separatiſt*, becauſe he allow'd of Communion with other Reform'd Churches, in the Word

Word and Prayer, but not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline. 'Tis certain he abandon'd the moſt indefenſible Parts of *Browniſm*, and endeavour'd to beat out a middle Way between that and Presbytery, on which Account he may juſtly be ſtiled the Father of the *Independents*. He was a Man of great Probity, and good Nature, an admirable diſputant as appear'd by his publick Diſputations in the Univerſities of *Leyden* when the *Arminian* Controverſie had like to have torn the Church and State of *Holland* in Pieces; he was univerſally beloved and eſteem'd by all the *Dutch* Miniſters and Profeſſors with whom he liv'd in a perfect Harmony; they lamented his Death which happen'd this Year, when he was but 50 Years of Age, as a publick Loſs; and tho' he never had been of their Communion, they did him the Honour to attend his Body to the Grave. The Death of Mr. *Robinſon* broke up the Remains of the Church of *Leyden*; moſt of them retiring to *Amſterdam*, few or none having the Courage to follow their Brethren into *New-England*. Anno 1626

THERE was another Attempt made this Year to begin a Settlement in the *Maſſachuſets*, * by Capt. *Wollaſton*, and three or four more Gentlemen of Subſtance, who brought with them a great many Servants, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries for a Plantation. They pitched at a Place which they called *Mount Wollaſton*, now known by the Name of *Braintry*; the Captain continued ſome time with his Colony, but finding the Difficulties of raiſing a Plantation greater than he imagin'd, he ſail'd with Part of his Servants to *Virginia*, and writ back to Mr. *Raſdale*, his Deputy to bring another Part along with him,

* New Eng. *Memor.* p. 68.

telling

Anno 1626 telling him that the Men would turn to a better Account there, than in *New-England*; *Raſdale* appointed *Filcher* his Lieutenant; but when *Raſdale* was gone, Mr. *Morton*, who had a ſmall ſhare in the Plantation, took the Advantage of the Lieutenant's being out of the Way, to make the Company merry with Drink, and then addreſt himſelf to them in the following Manner, "Gentlemen, you ſee many of your Companions carried away to *Virginia*, and if you ſtay till *Raſdale*'s return, you will alſo be carried away, and ſold for Slaves with the reſt, therefore I would adviſe you to thruſt out this Lieutenant *Filcher*, and I having a Part in the Plantation will receive you as my Partners, and Conſociates, ſo you may be free from Servitude, and we will converſe, plant, trade, and live together as Equals". Upon this they turn'd Lieutenant *Filcher* out into the wide World, to ſeek his Bread where he could find it; and *Morton* became their ſovereign Lord, leading them into all ſorts of Debauchery and Wickedneſs; They ſet up a *May-Pole* and danced about it, and drunk ſtrong Liquors to ſuch an Exceſs that they conſum'd 10*l.* worth in a Morning; to ſupport this Prodigality, they ingratiated themſelves with the *Indians*, and taught them the uſe of *Fire Arms*, how to charge and diſcharge a Musk, what Proportion of Powder to put in, and what Shot; *Morton* then exercis'd 'em, and ſent 'em out a Birding for him, ſo that in a little Time, they became better *Marks-Men* than the *Engliſh*, and being ſwift of Foot were capable of doing much more Execution: The *Indians* were ſo charm'd with this new Invention, that they threw away their Bows and Arrows, and gave any Price for Fire Arms, that *Morton* and his Companions demanded. When *Plimouth Colony* heard of this, they ſent Meſſengers to expoſtulate with him about it,

it, putting him in mind of the King's Proclamation, which forbids their trading with the *Indians* in any ſort of Warlike Stores, and of the Inconveniencies that might attend inſtructing them in the Art of War; but he inſolently reply'd, *that the King was dead and his Diſpleaſure with him*, and threatned, *that if they came to moleſt him again, they ſhould look to themſelves.* Upon this they reſolv'd to reduce him by Force, and ſent Captain *Standiſh* with a Party of Men to bring him dead or alive; *Morton* ſtood upon his Defence, barricadoed his Houſe, arm'd his Companions, and having heated them with Liquor, defied the Captain, and bid him fall on at his Peril. The Captain however ventur'd up to the Door, and *Morton* coming out to make a Shot at him, he put by his Piece, and took him Priſoner, upon which the reſt ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. Mr. *Morton* was convey'd to *Plimouth*, and after ſome time ſent to *England* with Letters to the Council of *New England*, giving an Account of his Conduct; but little or no notice was taken of it. He return'd ſeveral Times after this into the Country, and at laſt ended his miſerable Life at *Paſcataqua*. Thus the Remains of *Wollaſton's Colony* broke up, after they had maintained themſelves in the Bay of *Maſſachuſets* about 2 Years. *Anno* 1628

WE have already obſerv'd in the Year 1623. that the Colony of *Plimouth* had made ſome ſmall Diſtribution of Land among the Planters, which was no more than an Acre a Man beſides their *Home-ſteads* or Garden Plots, the reaſon of which was, that they might keep together for their greater ſafety and Defence againſt the common Enemy; but now their Numbers being encreas'd, they ventur'd to ſpread themſelves further into the Country, and the Government allotted to every one in each Family 20 Acres of Land, to be laid

Anno 1628 out five in length by the Water ſide, and four in Breadth.

THE *Dutch* had now perfected a Settlement on *Hudſon's River*, and ſent Letters about this Time to the Colony of *Plymouth*, to begin a Correſpondence, and invite them to a Trade; ſome time after, they ſent their Secretary Mr. *Iſaac de Roſier*, with *Letters* and *Goods*; The Governour receiv'd him with all imaginable Civilities, and both Parties were pleas'd with the Exchange of their Merchandize; for the Secretary brought with him *Beaver*, and ſuch like Commodities which they had bought of the Natives, and exchang'd 'em for Corn and Fiſh, which the Colony were at this Time very well provided with. This *Wampampeag* as the *Indians* call it, was of vaſt Advantage to the Natives, for the *Europeans* were ſo fond of it, that they purchas'd it at any Rate; the ſale of this made them grow Rich and Powerful, and furniſh'd them with all warlike Materials, as Guns, Powder, and Shot, whereby they became capable of making ſome kind of a ſtand againſt the Encroachments of the *Engliſh* upon their Religion and Country.

'TIS time now that we take ſome notice of the *Religion* of the Planters, for it may ſeem ſtrange that Men that left their Native Country, and afterwards ventur'd out into an uninhabited World, for the ſake of a Church Diſcipline, which they apprehended more agreeable to the Word of God, than that which was practiſed in their own Country, ſhould live ſo many Years without ſetting it up among themſelves, Mr. *Brewſter* indeed, who had been ruling Elder of the Church at *Leyden*, preach'd, and perform'd all other Offices of a Miniſter among them, except adminiſtring the Sacraments; beſides this, they had Meetings on the Week Days, wherein ſome of the Elder Brethren pray'd, and expounded ſome Portion

Portion of Scripture to the Reſt, but they did not enter into a Church Relation, becauſe they liv'd in hope of their Reverend Paſtor Mr. *Robinſon*, and the reſt of their Friends at *Leyden*, coming over to them; but when they heard of his Death, and the Diſſolution of his Church, they began to look out for a Paſtor; and one Mr. *Ralph Smith* coming over to *New England* about this time, was choſen and ſeparated to that Office by faſting and Prayer, and the Impoſition of the Hands of the Elders of the Church in the beginning of the Year 1629. I have already given the Reader an Account of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Sentiments in Religion, to which theſe Planters entirely agreed, I'll now add the Relation that the Worſhipful *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; ſome time Governour of the Colony has given of them.* "He ſays, that they are of the ſame "Faith with the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, "except in the Article of Church Government, "wherein they have endeavour'd a farther Re- "formation; He gives Inſtances of their admit- "ing to Communion among them, the Com- "municants of the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Scotch* "Churches, meerly by virtue of their being ſo, "and ſays, We ever placed a large Difference be- "tween thoſe that grounded their Practice on "the Word of God, tho' differing from us in the "Expoſition and Underſtanding of it, and thoſe "that hated ſuch Reformers and Reformation, "and went on in Anti-chriſtian Oppoſition to "it, and Perſecution of it. —— 'Tis true we "profeſs, and deſire to practiſe a Separation from "the World and the Works of it, and are willing "to diſcern an Appearance of the Grace of God "in all we admit to Church Fellowſhip, but

Anno 1628

* Mather, Book I. p. 13.

Anno 1628 " do not renounce all other Churches; nay, " if any joining to us formerly at *Leyden*, or " here in *New England*, have with the Con- " feſſion of their Faith, held forth an entire " Separation from the Church of *England*, I have " divers times heard either Mr. *Robinſon* our " Paſtor, or Mr. *Brewſter* our Elder, ſtop them " forthwith; ſhewing them that we requir'd no " ſuch thing at their Hands, but only to hold " forth Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, Holineſs in the " Fear of God, and Submiſſion to every Ordinance " and Appointment of God.

'TIS certain however, they were too much attached to ſome of the *Browniſtical* Principles, which Mr. *Robinſon*, if he had liv'd, would have wean'd them from, and particularly *to the Preachings of the Gifted Brethren*; which they carried to ſuch a Length, as not only to diſcourage, but to drive away a Regular and Learned Miniſtry, which after ſome Years they were bleſs'd with, for want of due Countenance, and Support; but theſe and ſeveral other little Fancies, they are now entirely free from, and are of one Heart and Soul with the reſt of the Churches of *New-England*.

CHAP. IV.

The State of Religion in England *under the Adminiſtration of Arch-biſhop* Laud. *The Riſe of the Colony of the* Maſſachuſet Bay. *Their Settlement at* Salem. *The Manner of their incorporating into a Church. The Hardſhips they ſuffer'd. The Foundation of the Town of* Boſton. *The ſtory of Sir* Chriſtopher Gardiner. *Capt.* Stone *and Capt.* Norton *murder'd by the* Indians. *Of Mr.* Roger Williams *and his Opinions. The Beginning of* Connecticut *Settlement. The Council of* England *prohibit the Puritans tranſporting themſelves into* America *without Licenſe from the King. The Beginning of* Newhaven *Settlement.*

KING *Charles* the firſt being advanced to the Throne upon the Demiſe of his Father, committed the Government of the Church to Men of arbitrary Principles, who were more inclinable to an Union with the Church of *Rome*, than to promote an Agreement amongſt Proteſtants. They were paſſionately fond of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and preſs'd the Obſervance of them with greater Rigour, than the Practice of Morality, or a good Life. Old A. B. *Abbot* was a Man of Temper and Moderation, but he fell into Diſgrace with the Court, and at laſt by Letters Patents, *Anno* 1629

Anno 1628 tents, bearing Date *Octob. 9th*, 1627. was ſuſpended *ab Officio*, and a Commiſſion was ſigned to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, "to do, execute and perform all Acts, Matters and Things any way "touching or concerning the Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority of the *Arch Biſhop of Canterbury* in Cauſes or Matters Eccleſiaſtical." The Biſhop of *London* was Dr. *William Laud*, a great Patron of Learning, but one of the worſt Politicians that ever ſat in Council; he puſh'd the King upon thoſe violent Meaſures that rendred his Government unpopular, and by his intemperate Zeal in the Church ruined many good People, and drove Thouſands of the Kings beſt Subjects out of the Kingdom; his Deſign was to make the Religion of the Church of *England* as gay and ſplendid as that of *Rome*, and the Power of the Biſhops, as abſolute as that of the Pope and his Cardinals; the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion Court, was a Proteſtant Court of Inquiſition, wherein Men were fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed contrary to the Laws of the Land, according to the ſovereign Will and Pleaſure of the Biſhops.*

SEVERAL Innovations were brought into the Church about this Time; the Communion Table which before ſtood in the Body of the Church, was order'd to be made in Form of an Altar, to be placed at the Eaſt End, and unlighted Candles to be ſet upon it; the People were commanded to bow or do Reverence at firſt coming into the Church, or upon a nearer Approach to the Holy Table; all Lectures on the Week Days, and Afternoon Sermons on the Lord's Day, were ſuppreſſed, and in their Room,

* *Compleat Hiſt. of* Eng. Vol. III. *p.* 85.

Games

Games and Sports were allowed, by the Royal Proclamation, with this very odd Exception, "*that all known Recusants either Men or Women, that* "*abstain from coming to Church or Divine Service,* "*shall be debar'd the Benefit, and Liberty here grant-*"*ed.* This Proclamation was ordered to be read in every Parish Church throughout *England* by the Minister of the Place, on Pain of Suspension or Deprivation. The laudable Design of buying up Impropriations, and employing the Profits of them for the Maintenance of Lecturers and Preachers both in Town and Country was declared illegal; the Corporation engaged in this Design was dissolved, and the Fund and Stock adjudg'd to the King; this Corporation consisted of four Divines, namely, Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Sibs*, Mr. *Offspring*, and Mr. *Davenport*; four Lawyers, one of which was the Kings Serjeant at Law, and four Citizens, whereof one was the Lord Major of *London* himself; but the Bishop fearing it would promote the Growth of *Puritanism*, not only blew up the Design it self, but would have prosecuted the Managers of it in the Star Chamber if the Clamours of the People had not deter'd him.* Anno 1630

THE Press was restrain'd, so that Nobody durst venture to debate the Authority of the Bishops, or dispute their Proceedings without running the Hazard of all that was dear to him in the World. *Alexander Leighton*, D. D. a bold *Scotch* Man ventur'd to publish a Book called *Zions Plea*, wherein according to the Custom of that Nation, he spoke too freely of the Queen and the Bishops, calling the Queen a *Daughter of Heth*, and the Bishops *Persecutors of God's People.*† For which he was sentenced in the

* Fuller, B. xi. p. 136. † Ludlow's *Letter to* Dr. Hollingworth p. 22.

Anno 1626 Star-Chamber, after Degradation, to have his Noſe ſlit, and his Ears cut off, to be branded in the Face, whip'd at a Poſt, to ſtand in the Pillory, to pay ten thouſand Pounds Fine, and ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment; all which was executed in the moſt rigorous Manner: the Dr. lay in cloſe Priſon ten or eleven Years, till he was releaſed by the Parliament in the Year 1640, and was then found to be in ſuch deplorable Circumſtances that he could neither walk, ſee, nor hear. Three parts in four of the Clergy of the Church of *England* in thoſe times were *Calviniſts*, but the favourite Biſhops were *Arminians*, and prevailed with the King to publiſh a Proclamation, forbidding the Clergy to preach upon the five controverted Points of Divinity; ſo that if a *Calviniſt* with never ſo much Modeſty declared his Sentiments upon the Doctrines of Election, Predeſtination, *&c.* it was called a Contempt of his Majeſty's Authority, whereas the *Arminians* were allowed to uſe the ſharpeſt Invectives againſt their Adverſaries, without the leaſt Controul. It were endleſs to mention all the Encroachments that were made upon the Rights and Liberties of the People by the Court and the Biſhops, in the twelve Years that run out between Dr. *Laud*'s Advancement to the See of *London*, and his Confinement to the Tower.

BUT by this Specimen the Reader may ſee, how hard it muſt be for the *Puritans* of thoſe times, who were all *Calviniſts*, ſtrict obſervers of the Lord's-Day, and Enemies to Popery, and all kinds of Licentiouſneſs, to get their Bread in the Church with a good Conſcience; neither Learning, nor Piety, nor Diligence and Succeſs in the Work of the Miniſtry, nor any other Qualification could ſave a Man from Ruin, that ſcrupled Conformity to the Biſhops Injunctions. The Articles exhibited againſt Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, in

in the Year 1641, tell us, "That during the "time of his being Biſhop of *Norwich*, which "was about two Years and a half, there were "for not reading the ſecond Service at the Com-"munion Table ſet Altarwiſe, for not reading "the Book of Sports; for uſing conceived Prayer "before and after Sermon, and for not obſerving "ſome other illegal Innovations introduced by "him and his Officers, above fifty godly, "painful, preaching Miniſters excommunica-"ted, ſuſpended, deprived, or otherwiſe cen-"ſured, in his Dioceſs to the undoing of "many of them, their Wives and Children." Anno 1629

And not only the Clergy, but the Laity, it ſeems, felt the weight of the Biſhops Diſpleaſure, "For "(ſay the ſame Articles) by the ſame rigorous "Proceedings, three Thouſand of his Majeſty's "Subjects, many of which uſed Trades, Spin-"ning, Weaving, Knitting and making of Cloth, "ſome of them ſetting hundreds of Poor on "Work, have been forced to remove themſelves, "and their Families beyond Sea, to the great "Detriment of the Trade of the Kingdom." All the Biſhops of the Court Party were equally ſevere againſt the Puritans; and it was the King's Unhappineſs to be governed by them: He put the Reins into their Hands, and they drove ſo furiouſly that the whole Nation groan'd under their Tyranny. The *Puritan* Clergy were neither ſuffer'd to live in the Kingdom, nor to go out of it, and many true Members of the Church that could not come up to the new Meaſures were ſeverely puniſhed in the ſpiritual Courts; till at laſt the very Name of a Biſhop grew odious to the People, and when they could get rid of their Tyranny no other way, they were forced to draw their Swords in Defence of their Liberties, whereby the Kingdom was involved in all the Miſeries of a Civil War.

THIS

1628 THIS being the melancholy State of Affairs, the Reverend Mr. *White*, Minister of *Dorchester*, encourag'd by the Success of the *Plimouth* Colony, projected a new Settlement in the *Massacuset Bay* as an *Asylum* for the silenced Ministers; he had prevailed with Mr. *Roger Conant* and some others to go over and make a Beginning as early as the Year 1625, but they could hardly maintain themselves, and were about to return, when they received Letters from Mr. *White* that if they would but wait a little longer, he would procure them a Patent, and send them over Friends, Goods, Provisions, and all things necessary for a Settlement. Accordingly the Council establish'd at *Plimouth* in the County of *Devon*, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of *New-England* in *America* did by their Deed indented under their Common Seal, bearing date the 19th "of *March* 1627, give, grant, bargain, sell, in-"feoff, alien and confirm to Sir *Henry Roswell*, "Sir *John Young*, Knights *Thomas Southcot*, *John* "*Humphries*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whetcombe*, "their Heirs and Assigns, and their Associates "for ever, all that Part of *New-England* aforesaid, "which lies and extends between a great River "there, commonly called *Monomack*, alias *Meri-*"*mack*, and a certain other River called *Charles* "*River*, being in a Bottom of a certain Bay "there commonly called *Massachusets*, alias *Mat-*"*tachusets*, alias *Massatusetts* Bay, and also all and "singular those Lands and Hereditaments what-"soever, lying within the Space of three English "Miles on the South Part of the said *Charles* "*River*, or of any and every Part thereof, and "also all and singular the Lands, and Heredi-"taments whatsoever, lying, and being within "the Space of three English Miles to the South-"ward of the Southermost Part of the said Bay "called *Massachusets*, and also all those Lands and Heredi-

" Hereditaments whatſoever, which lye within " the Space of three Engliſh Miles to the North- " ward of the ſaid River called *Monomack* alias " *Merimack*, or to the Northward of any and e- " very Part thereof, and all Lands and Hereditа- " ments whatſoever lying within the Limits a- " foreſaid, *North* and *South*, in Latitude and in " Breadth, and in Length, and Longitude, of " and within all the Breadth aforeſaid, through- " out the main Lands there, from the Atlantick " and Weſtern Sea and Ocean on the Eaſt Part, " to the South Sea on the Weſt Part, and all the " Lands and Grounds, Place and Places, Soil, " Woods, and Wood-Grounds, Havens, Ports, " Rivers, Waters, Fiſhings and Hereditaments " whatſoever lying within the ſaid Bounds and " Limits, and every Part and Parcel thereof, and " alſo all Iſlands lying in *America* aforeſaid in the " ſaid Seas, or either of them on the Weſtern or " Eaſtern Coaſts or Parts of the ſaid Tracts of " Land; and alſo all Mines and Minerals, as " well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other " Mines and Minerals whatſoever in the ſaid " Lands and Premiſes, or any part thereof, and " all Juriſdictions, Rights, Royalties, Liberties, " Freedoms, Immunities, Privileges, Franchiſes, " Preheminencies and Commodities whatſoever, " which they the ſaid Council eſtabliſh'd at *Pli-* " *mouth*, had or might uſe, exerciſe or enjoy, in " or within the ſaid Lands or Premiſes, *&c.* to " be holden of his Majeſty King *Charles* the " Firſt, his Heirs and Succeſſors, as of his Man- " nor of *Eaſt Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, " in free and common Soccage, and not *in Ca-* " *pite*, nor by Knight's Service, yielding and " paying therefore to his ſaid Majeſty, his Heirs " and Succeſſors, the fifth Part of the Oar of " Gold and Silver, which ſhould from time to " time, and at all times hereafter happen to be " found,

Anno 1629

Anno 1629 "found, gotten, had, and obtained in any of "the ſaid Lands, within the ſaid Limits, or in, "or within any Part thereof, for and in Satis- "faction of all Manner of Duties, Demands, "and Services whatſoever to be done, made, "or paid to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Suc- "ceſſors."

BUT the Gentlemen mention'd in the Charter not being willing to embark alone in ſo great an Affair, engag'd ſeveral other Perſons of Quality and Subſtance about the City of *London* to join with them; as Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Iſaac Johnſon*, *Samuel Adderly*, *John Ven*, *Matthew Cradock*, *George Harwood*, *Increaſe Nowel*, *Richard Perry*, *Richard Bellingham*, *Nathaniel Wright*, *Samuel Vaſſal*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Tho. Goff*, *Tho. Adams*, *John Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Tho. Hutchings*, *William Vaſſal*, *William Pinchon*, and *George Foxcraft*; and petition'd the King that their Names might be inſerted in the Patent, as Original Proprietors, which was accordingly done in a new Draught of the former Patent, bearing Date the 4th of *March* 1628. By this Charter, the above-mention'd Gentlemen, and all that ſhould hereafter join with them, were made a Body-Corporate and Politique, by the Name of the Governour and Company of the *Maſſachuſets-Bay* in *New-England*; they were empower'd Yearly to elect their own Governour, Deputy-Governour, and Magiſtrates, as alſo to make ſuch Laws as they ſhould think for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; free Liberty of Conſcience was likewiſe granted to all that ſhould ſettle in thoſe Parts, to worſhip God in their own way.

AS ſoon as the Company had received their Charter, they choſe Mr. *Cradock* their Governour, and Mr. *Endicott* his Deputy; Mr. *Endicott* was ſent over immediately with ſome Recruits to Mr. *Conant* and his Companions; to inform them

them of the State of Affairs, and of the Preparations that were making for ſending over a larger Colony the next Year. Mr. *Endicott* found them reduced to very low Circumſtances, and tho' the Supply he brought put ſome new Life into the Planters, yet was it of very little Service to them in their Settlement, becauſe all the Paſſengers that came over with him fell ſick of the Scurvy and other infectious Diſtempers, and many of them died; inſomuch that he was obliged to ſend for Mr. *Fuller*, Phyſician to the Colony of *Plimouth*, who by the Bleſſing of God ſaved the Lives of many of them. Mr. *Fuller* ſtaid with the little Colony all Winter, and when he return'd to *Plimouth* in the Spring, Mr. *Endicott* ſent a moſt obliging Letter to Governour *Bradford*, dated from *Neumkeak*, *May* 11. 1629, wherein after Acknowledgments of his great Civility in ſending Mr. *Fuller* to them in their Diſtreſs, he declares his Satisfaction in their Form of Church-Diſcipline, as explain'd by Mr. *Fuller*, and gives it as his Opinion, that it is grounded upon the Scriptures. Anno 1629

THE Adventurers at *London* in the mean time made their Application to the Rev. Mr. *Higginſon* a ſilenced Non-conformiſt Miniſter of *Leiceſterſhire*, and the Rev. Mr. *Skelton* of *Lincolnſhire* to be Chaplains to the grand Colony that was going over, and deſired them to engage as many of their Friends as were fit for ſuch an Undertaking to join with them; the Fleet conſiſted of ſix Sail of Ships, namely the *George Bonaventure* of 20 Guns; the *Talbot* of 19; the *Lyon's Whelp* of 8; the *Mayflower* of 14; the *Four Siſters* of 14; and the *Pilgrim* of 4 Guns. About 350 Paſſengers, Men, Women, and Children embarked aboard theſe Tranſports for the Plantation, with 115 Head of neat Cattle, ſuch as Horſes, Mares, Cows, *&c.* 41 Goats, ſome Conies, and all other Neceſſaries for

for a Settlement; beſides 6 Pieces of Cannon for a
1629 Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Drums, Colours, and a large Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion: The whole Fleet ſailed from the Iſle of *Wight*, *May* 1. 1629, and arrived at the Place which Mr. *Conant* and the *Dorcheſter* Agents had mark'd out for them, on the 24th of *June* following; it was called by the Natives *Neumkeak*, but the new Planters called it *Salem*, which in the *Hebrew* Language ſignifies *Peace*; from this ſmall Beginning is the *Maſſachuſet* Province grown to the Figure it now makes in the *American* World.

RELIGION being the chief Motive of their coming over into theſe Parts, they reſolved to ſettle that in the firſt Place; accordingly with the Approbation of the Worſhipful *John Endicott*, Eſq; their Deputy-Governour, they conſulted with their Brethren at *Plimouth*; who informed them of the Church-Order and Diſcipline which they had ſet up, and of the Warrant they had for it, in the Word of God; the new Planters after ſome few Conferences, agreed with them, and appointed the 6th Day of *Auguſt* for the Erecting ſuch a Church among themſelves; the Church at *Plimouth* ſent Meſſengers to be Witneſſes of their Proceedings, which were after this Manner. The Day was ſpent in Faſting and Prayer; and 30 Perſons who had deſired to be of the Communion, did then ſolemnly and ſeverally, before the whole Aſſembly, profeſs their Conſent unto a Confeſſion of Faith, which Mr. *Higginſon* had drawn up, and given them Copies of ſome Days before for their Peruſal; after which they ſigned the following Covenant, drawn up by the ſame Hand.

"WE covenant with our Lord, and one with "another; we do bind* ourſelves in the Preſence

* Mather, Book I. p. 18.

"of

" of God, to walk together in all his Ways, ac- Anno
" cording as he is pleaſed to reveal himſelf to 1629
" us in his Bleſſed Word of Truth, and do expli-
" citly in the Name and Fear of God, profeſs and
" proteſt to walk as followeth through the Power
" and Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

" We avouch the Lord to be our *God*, and
" ourſelves to be his *People*, in the Truth and
" Simplicity of our Spirits.

" We give ourſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,
" and the Word of his Grace for the teaching,
" ruling, and ſanctifying of us in Matters of Wor-
" ſhip, and Converſation, reſolving to cleave
" unto him alone for Life and Glory, and to
" reject all contrary Ways, Canons, and Conſti-
" tutions of Men in Worſhip.

" We promiſe to walk with our Brethren,
" with all Watchfulneſs and Tenderneſs, avoid-
" ing Jealouſies, and Suſpicions, Backbitings,
" Cenſurings, Provokings, ſecret Riſings of Spi-
" rit againſt them; but in all Offences to follow
" the Rule of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to bear
" and forbear, give and forgive, as he has
" taught us.

" In publick or private, we will willingly do
" nothing to the Offence of the Church, but
" will be willing to take Advice for ourſelves,
" and ours, as Occaſion ſhall be preſented.

" We will not in the Congregation be forward,
" either to ſhew our own Gifts and Parts in
" ſpeaking, or ſcrupling; or there diſcover the
" Weakneſſes, or Failings of our Brethren, but
" attend an orderly Call thereunto, knowing
" how much the Lord may be diſhonoured, and
" his Goſpel and the Profeſſion of it ſlighted by
" our Diſtempers and Weakneſſes in publick.

" We bind ourſelves to ſtudy the Advance-
" ment of the Goſpel in all Truth and Peace,
" both in Regard of thoſe that are within or
" without,

Anno 1629 " without, no Way ſlighting our Siſter Churches " but uſing their Counſel as Need ſhall be, not " laying a Stumbling-Block before any, no not " the *Indians*, whoſe Good we deſire to promote, " and ſo to converſe, as we may avoid the very " Appearance of Evil.

" WE do hereby promiſe to carry ourſelves " in all lawful Obedience to thoſe that are " over us in Church or Commonwealth, know- " ing how well-pleaſing it will be to the Lord, " that they ſhould have Encouragement in their " Places by our not grieving their Spirits, thro' " our Irregularities.

" WE reſolve to approve ourſelves to the Lord " in our particular Callings, ſhunning Idleneſs, " as the Bane of any State, nor will we deal " hardly or oppreſſingly with any, wherein we " are the Lords Stewards.

" PROMISING alſo to our beſt Ability, to teach " our Children, and Servants, the Knowldge of " God, and of his Will, that they may ſerve " him alſo; And all this not by any Strength " of our own, but by the Lord Chriſt, whoſe " Blood we deſire may ſprinkle this our Cove- " nant made in his Name".

AFTER this they choſe out from among themſelves the Reverend Mr. *Skelton* for their Paſtor, Mr. *Higginſon* their Teacher, and Mr. *Houghton* their ruling Elder, who were ſeparated to their ſeveral Offices, by the Impoſition of the Hands of ſome of the Brethren appointed by the Church to that Work. The Church being thus form'd, ſeveral others were admitted into it; ſome by expreſſing their Conſent to Mr. *Higginſon's* Confeſſion of Faith and Covenant; others by writing an Account of their Faith and Hope, and others by making a verbal Declaration of it before the Church, but none were admitted without ſufficient Teſtimonies of their ſober Lives

Lives and Converſations. The only Term of their Communion was; *giving Satisfaction to the Church concerning their Faith and Manners.* But how this was to be done was left entirely to the Direction of the *Elders.* They agreed with the Church at *Plimouth, That the Children of the faithful are Church-Members with their Parents, and that their Baptiſm is a Seal of their being ſo:* Only before their Admiſſion to the Lord's Supper, they were to be examined by the Officers of the Church, and if they were tolerably acquainted with the Principles of Religion, were free from Scandal, and willing publickly to own the Covenant; they were received. Accordingly Mr. *Higginſon's* eldeſt Son of about 15 or 16 Years of Age, having been privately examined by the Paſtor Mr. *Skelton,* was preſented to the Church, and admitted into it. Anno 1629

SOME of the Paſſengers who came over with theſe firſt Planters obſerving, that the Miniſters did not uſe the Book of *Common Prayer,* that they adminiſtred Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper without the Ceremonies; that they refuſed to admit diſorderly Perſons; and reſolved to uſe Diſcipline againſt all ſcandalous Members of the Church, ſet up a ſeparate Aſſembly according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*; of theſe Mr. *Samuel Browne,* and his Brother were the chief, the one a *Lawyer,* and the other a *Merchant,* both of them Men of Eſtates and Figure, and of the Number of the firſt Patentees. The Governour perceiving the Diſturbance that was like to ariſe on this Occaſion, ſent for the two Brothers, who accuſed the *Miniſters, as departing from the Order of the Church of* England, adding, *that they were Separatiſts, and would ſhortly be* Anabaptiſts, *but for themſelves, they would hold to the Orders of the Church of* England. The Miniſters replied, *That they were neither Separatiſts, nor* Anabaptiſts, that

Anno 1630 *they did not ſeparate from the Church of* England, *nor from the Ordinances of God there, but only from the Corruptions and Diſorders of that Church; that they came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and had ſuffered much for their Nonconformity in their native Land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their Liberty, they neither could, nor would uſe them; becauſe they judged the Impoſition of theſe Things to be ſinful Corruptions of the Word of God.* The Governour, the Council, and the People generally approved of the Miniſter's Anſwer; but the two Brothers not being ſatisfied, and endeavouring to raiſe a Mutiny among the People, were ſent back to *England*, by the Return of the ſame Ships that brought them over.

THE firſt Winter after the Arrival of this *Colony* proved a very fatal one, for it carried off almoſt 100 of their Company, among whom was Mr. *Houghton* the ruling Elder of the Church; and Mr. *Higginſon* himſelf, who, not being capable of undergoing the Fatigues of a new Settlement, fell into a Hectic Feaver, of which he lingred 'till Midſummer, and then died.

MR. *Francis Higginſon*, M. A. was born in the Year 1587, and educated in *Emanuel*-College in *Cambridge*, * where he proceeded Maſter of Arts, and was afterwards choſen Miniſter of one of the five Pariſhes in *Leiceſter*: For ſome Years he was an exact Conformiſt to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, but upon Acquaintance with Mr. *Hilderſham* and Mr. *Hooker*, he alter'd his Sentiments, and was deprived of his Living for Nonconformity, but by the connivance of Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of the Dioceſe, he continued to preach a Lecture in the Town, 'till

* *Mather* B. 3. p. 70.

Biſhop

Biſhop *Laud* and his Party carried all before them. He was then informed againſt in the *High-Commiſſion-Court*, and expected every Hour to be ſent for up to appear before them, when he received an Invitation from the *Maſſachuſet*-Company to withdraw from the Storm, and ſettle in *New-England*; he lived there about 14 Months, and died of a Hectic Fever in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1630, in the 43d. Year of his Age. He was a good Scholar, of a ſweet and affable Behaviour, and having a charming Voice, was one of the moſt acceptable, and popular Preachers in the Country. He left behind him two Sons, *Francis* and *John*, the laſt of which ſucceeded his Father in the Church of *Salem* in the Year 1659, and was alive there in the Year 1697, a moſt valuable and uſeful Miniſter of Chriſt, between 80 and 90 Years of Age. He has prefix'd an Atteſtation to Dr. *Cotton Mather's* Church-Hiſtory of *New-England*, wherein there are theſe remarkable Words. "As for myſelf, "having been by the Mercy of God now above "68 Years in *New-England*, and ſerved the Lord "and his People 60 Years in the Miniſtry of "the Goſpel, I may now ſay in my Old Age, I "have ſeen all that the Lord has done for his "People in *New-England*, and have known the "beginning and progreſs of theſe Churches to "this Day; and having read over much of this "Hiſtory, I cannot but in the Love and Fear "of God bear Witneſs to the Truth of it, *viz.* "that this preſent Church-Hiſtory of *New-*"*England* compiled by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, for "the *Subſtance*, End and Scope of it is, as far as "I have been acquainted therewithal, according "to Truth." *

Anno 1630

* *Atteſtation to* C. Mather's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, p. 3.

Anno 1630 BUT the Governour and Company of the *Maſſachuſet Bay* in *London* thinking it for the Advantage of the New Colony, that the Governour himſelf ſhould reſide among them, and Mr. *Cradock* not being willing to undertake the Voyage, they choſe *John Winthrop*, Eſq; Governour in his room, and Mr. *Thomas Dudley* his Deputy, with ſeveral other worthy Perſons for their Council, who embark'd themſelves and their Families for *New-England* with a Fleet of 10 Sail of Ships, whereof the Admiral was call'd the *Arabella*, in Honour of the Lady *Arabella Johnſon*, who with her Husband *Iſaac Johnſon*, Eſq; was on board of her: With theſe embark'd Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *John Venn*, Eſqs; with ſeveral other Gentlemen and Miniſters, and above 200 Paſſengers, whom the Heat of Perſecution forced out of their Native Country. A few Days after their Embarkation a Paper was publiſh'd call'd, *The humble Requeſt of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for* New-England, *to the reſt of their Brethren in and of the Church of* England, *for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of Suſpicions and Miſconſtructions of their Intentions.* Wherein they entreat their Reverend Fathers and Brethren of the Church of *England* to recommend them to the Mercies of God in their conſtant Prayers, as a Church now ſpringing out of their own Bowels; "For you are not ignorant (*ſay* "*they*) that the Spirit of God ſtirred up the "Apoſtle *Paul* to make a continual Mention of "the Church of *Philippi*, which was a Colony "from *Rome*: Let the ſame Spirit, we beſeech "you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's "Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceaſing. "And what Goodneſs you ſhall extend to us in "this, or any other chriſtian Kindneſs, we your

"Brethren

" Brethren in Chriſt ſhall labour to repay in " what Duty we are, or ſhall be able to perform, " promiſing, ſo far as God ſhall enable us, to " give him no Reſt on your Behalfs; wiſhing " our Heads and Hearts may be Fountains of " Tears for your everlaſting Welfare, when we " ſhall be in our poor Cottages in the Wilder- " neſs, overſhadow'd with the Spirit of Suppli- " cation, thro' the manifold Neceſſities and Tri- " bulations, which may not altogether unexpec- " tedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befal us. " *Anno* 1630

THE Fleet arriv'd at *Salem* in the Month of *July*, in a very ſickly Condition; the Lady *Arabella Johnſon* died ſoon after ſhe came aſhore, and her Husband follow'd her within a Month. The Planters divided themſelves into two Bodies; one ſettled at a Place which they called *Charles-Town*, on the North Side of the River which goes by that Name, and incorporated themſelves into a Church after the Manner of that of *Salem*, chooſing the Reverend Mr. *Wilſon* for their Paſtor, who tho' an ordained Miniſter of the *Church* of *England*, ſubmitted to a Reordination by the Impoſition of ſuch Hands, as the Church invited to pray for a Bleſſing on his Labours; the other Body ſettled at a Place which they called *Dorcheſter*, about the bottom of the *Maſſachuſet* Bay, and choſe the Reverend Mr. *John Wareham* their Miniſter; but afterwards upon a better Acquaintance with the Country, both theſe Miniſters, and their Friends, changed their Situation for others, that were more commodious for Trade and Commerce.

GREAT were the Hardſhips that theſe new Planters were expoſed to, on their firſt Arrival in the Country! the Fatigues of the Voyage brought the Scurvy and other Diſtempers upon them, and when they came aſhore, being forced to lie

Anno 1630 lie up and down in Booths and Tents expos'd to Wind and Weather, they died in great Numbers. In the firſt three Months, they buried above an hundred of their Company. Beſides, in the Depth of Winter their Proviſions fail'd, and tho' the Colony of *Plimouth* gave them all the Aſſiſtance they could, and the Governour divided out the publick Stores with the utmoſt Frugality, yet they were reduced to the laſt Extremity; when upon the 5th of *February* a Ship arrived from *England* with a Supply of freſh Proviſions. Another thing that gave them no little Concern, was the *Fear* of the *Indians*, who threatned to drive them out of the Country; but the Small-Pox made ſuch miſerable Havock among them, that tho' the *Engliſh* gave them the beſt Aſſiſtance they could, yet nine Parts in ten died of it, and the Reſt flying from the Infection, left the Country in a manner deſolate. One Inſtance of the Civility and Juſtice of the Planters to them was this, that notwithſtanding the Patent which they had for the Country from the Crown of *England*, they fairly purchaſed of the Natives, * the ſeveral Tracts of Land which they afterwards poſſeſſed.

TOWARDS the latter End of the Year a Part of the *Colony* of *Charles Town* removed to a *Peninſula*, which lies in the very Bottom of the *Maſſachuſet Bay*, and is the moſt commodiouſly ſituated for Trade and Commerce of any Place in the Country. Here they built the Town of *BOSTON*, now the Metropolis of the whole Province, after they had given Satisfaction to the Reverend Mr. *Blackſton*, an Epiſcopal Miniſter, who happening to ſleep firſt in an Hovel on this Point of Land, claim'd a Pro-

* C. Mather, B. I. p. 22.

priety

priety in the whole Peninſula; this Man, ſays Dr. *Mather*, was of a particular Humour, and would never join himſelf to any of the *New-England* Churches, giving this Reaſon for it, that *as he came from* England, *becauſe he did not like the* Lord Biſhops, *ſo he could not join with them, becauſe he would not be under the* Lord Brethren. Here they erected a *Church* under the Paſtoral Care of the Reverend Mr. *Wilſon* who ſupported his Character among them with univerſal Eſteem and Approbation for almoſt forty Years. *Anno* 1631

THE next Summer ſeveral Ships and Paſſengers came over from *England*, amongſt whom was the famous Mr. *John Eliot*, who ſpent his firſt Year at *Boſton*, and then ſettled with his Friends at *Roxbury*. He was the Apoſtle of the *Indians*, being one of the firſt that preached the Goſpel among them, and lived to ſee the Succeſs of his Labours in the Converſion of many Thouſands of them to Chriſtianity. 1631

THE following Spring the Governour and his Paſtor, Mr. *Wilſon*, travelled on Foot forty Miles thro' the Woods as far as *Plimouth*, to ſettle a Correſpondence between the two Colonies, for in thoſe early Days, they had not their *Agents* and *Attendants*, as at preſent, the Governour of *Plimouth* received them with great Honour and Reſpect, and a laſting friendſhip was eſtabliſh'd between them. About the ſame time came over one Sir *Chriſtopher Gardiner*, a Knight of *Jeruſalem*, and of the Family of the famous Biſhop of that Name in Q. *Mary*'s Reign. * He was a Citizen of the World, pretending he had travelled over the greateſt Part of it, and came now to *New-England* to ſpend the reſt of his Days in retirement, he brought over with him a Servant 1632

* New-England *Memor.* p. 85.

Anno 1632 or two, and a pretty young Woman, whom he called his Couſin; he went for a *Puritan*, but was in reality a *Roman Catholick*, and having been guilty of ſome Miſdemeanours ſoon after his Arrival, he fled from Juſtice and took Sanctuary among the *Indians* of *Plimouth Colony*: The Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*, publiſh'd a Proclamation, promiſing a Reward to thoſe that ſhould Apprehend him; the *Indians* hereupon came to the Governour of *Plimouth*, and ask'd if they might kill him; he told them no, but if they could take him alive, they ſhould have the Reward: Some time after they found him by the River ſide, and would have laid hold on him, but he got into a Canoe, and putting off from the Shore preſented his Piece at them; but the Stream driving the Canoe againſt a Rock plung'd him over Head and Ears in the Water; the *Knight* however made a ſhift to get aſhore and defend himſelf with his *Sword*, till the *Indians* had ſo bruiſed and beat him with their long Poles, that he could hold it in his Hand no longer; he then yielded, and was brought to *Plimouth*, and put into a Surgeons Hands for the Cure of his Wounds. The Servant who made his Bed found a little Pocket Book under his Pillow, in which was a *Memorandum*, what Day he was reconciled to the *Church* of *Rome*, and in what Univerſity, he took his *Scapula* and his Degrees. From *Plimouth* he was ſent to the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*, who inflicted no other Puniſhment upon him than the ſending him back to *England*; but when he came thither, he railed bitterly againſt the Plantation, complaining of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Proceedings of the Governour againſt himſelf, and others of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects; and join'd with Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Capt. *Maſon*, &c. in a Petition to the King againſt them: The Cauſe was heard

heard before the Privy Council; but the Petitioners not being able to make good their Allegations, and many of the principal Adventurers appearing in favour of the Plantation, the Council reprimanded the Petitioners, and publiſhed the following Order, for the Encouragement of the Adventurers. *Anno* 1632.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19. 1632.

Sigillum Creſcent,
Lord Privy Seal,
Earl of Dorſet,
Lord Viſcount Falkland,
Lord Biſhop of London.
Lord Cottington.
Mr. *Trevers*,
Mr. *Vice Chamberlain*,
Mr. *Secretary Cook*,
Mr. *Secretary Windebank*.

" WHEREAS his Majeſty hath lately been " informed of great Diſtraction and much Diſ- " order, in the Plantations in the Parts of *A-* " *merica* call'd *New-England*, which if they be " true, and ſuffer'd to run on, would tend to the " Diſhonour of the Kingdom and utter Ruin of " that Plantation, for Prevention whereof, and " for the orderly ſettling Government, ac- " cording to the Intention of thoſe Patents, " which have been granted by his Majeſty, and " from his late Royal Father King *James*: It " hath pleaſed his Majeſty that the Lords and " Others of his moſt honoured Privy Council " ſhould take the ſame into Conſideration: Their " Lordſhips in the firſt Place thought fit to make " a Committee of this Board to take Examina- " tion of the Matters informed; which Com- " mittee having called divers of the principal " *Adventurers* in that Plantation, and heard th ſe " that are *Complainants* againſt them, moſt of the " Things informed being denied, and reſting to " be proved by Parties, that muſt be called from

" that

Anno 1633 " that Place, which required a long Expence of " Time; and their Lordſhip's finding, They " were upon diſpatch of Men, Victuals, and " Merchandiſe for that Place, all which would " be at a ſtand, if the Adventurers, ſhould have " Diſcouragement, or take Suſpicion that the " State here had no good Opinion of that Plan- " tation; their Lordſhips not laying the Faults " or Fancies (if any be) of ſome particular " Men upon the General Government, or prin- " cipal Adventures, which in due time is further " to be enquired into, have thought fit in the " mean time to declare, that the Appearances " were ſo fair, and Hopes ſo great, that the " Country would prove both beneficial to this " Kingdom, and profitable to the Particulars, " as that the Adventurers had cauſe to go on " cheerfully with their Undertakings, and reſt " aſſured, if things were carried, as was pre- " tended, when the *Patents* were granted, and " accordingly as by the Patents it is appointed, " his Majeſty would not only maintain the Li- " berties and Privileges heretofore granted, but " ſupply any thing farther that might tend to the " good Government, Proſperity, and Comfort of " his People there, of that Place, *&c.*

William Tromball.

IN the Fleet mentioned in this Order, there came over three famous Nonconformiſt Miniſters, the Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Samuel Stone*, Mr. *Cotton's* Wife was brought to Bed of a Son, while they were out at Sea, whom he called *Sea-born*, in Memory of the Place of his Nativity; He was afterwards a famous Miniſter in *New-England*. Mr. *Cotton* upon his Arrival was immediately choſen Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Wilſon* at *Boſton*, and continued with him till his Death. Mr. *Hooker* was choſen

choſen Paſtor of a Church at *New Town* about three Miles from *Boſton*, ſince known by the Name of *Cambridge*, where ſome of his Friends had begun a Settlement the laſt Year; and Mr. *Stone* was his Aſſiſtant; the Fame of theſe Men's Settling in *New-England* invited over vaſt Numbers of *Puritans*, who could not be eaſy under Archbiſhop *Laud*'s ſevere Adminiſtration; inſomuch, that for ſeveral Years, hardly a Veſſel came into theſe Parts but was crowded with Paſſengers for *New-England*. Anno 1634

THE Summer proving very hot produced a ſort of malignant Fever in the Colony of *Plimouth*, of which many fell ſick, and above twenty died, among whom was the Excellent Mr. *Samuel Fuller*, the only Phyſician, and Surgeon of the Place; he was a good Man, and very ſucceſsful in his Profeſſion, which made his Loſs ſo much the greater. The *Indians* ſuffered extremely by the *Fever*, for want of Medicines, and other Conveniences.

BUT the next Summer the ſmall Pox prov'd more fatal to them, a Diſeaſe which the *Indians* dread more than the Plague itſelf, and not without Reaſon; for they are uſually very full of *them*, and for want of Beds, Linnen, and other Neceſſaries, they fall into a moſt lamentable and loathſome Condition; for having nothing but hard Matts to lye upon, when the Puſtles break they ſtick to the Matt, and every time they turn themſelves, ſome of their Skin fleas of, till at length they are all of a gore Blood, and then being ſore, they catch cold, and dye like rotten Sheep.

THE *Indians* on the Borders murdered ſeveral of the *Engliſh* this Summer; * Captain *Stone*

* New-England *Memor.* p. 92.

and

and Captain *Norton*, ſailing in a ſmall Barque
1634 from *New-England* to *Virginia*, went in at *Connecticut* River where the *Indians* ſurpriz'd, and murdered them in the Night. *Stone* was killed as he lay aſleep in the Cabbin, but *Norton* made a long and noble Defence in the Cook Room, till the Powder which he had ſet before him in an open Veſſel, blew up and put out his Eyes, he was then killed with the reſt of the Crew which were ſix Men, and the Goods were ſold to the *Pequots*. The *Pequots* had the Aſſurance to vindicate this piece of Barbarity, alleging that the *Indians* did it in their own Defence, the *Captain* having ſeized two of their Men, and obliged them to pilot him up the River againſt their Wills; That, in order to reſcue their Men, they ordered nine of their Company to watch the Barque, who obſerving, the Captain to go aſhore with two of his Men, ſurprized them in the Night, and killed them in their ſleep; then going to the Barque, by an unknown Accident it blew up, and was Burnt. But there is little Credit to be given to this Relation, for 'tis not likely that the Captains, and their Crew would lye aſhore all Night in an Enemies Country, nor that the *Barque* ſhould blow up, without being attacked; the *Pequots* however kept the *Goods*, but paid dear for them at laſt.

ON the ſecond of *Auguſt*, the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Skelton*, firſt Paſtor of the Church at *Salem* died; He had been perſecuted out of *Lincolnſhire* for Nonconformity, to the Church of *England*; which enclined him to engage with the *Maſſachuſet* Planters; he came over accordingly with Mr. *Higginſon*, in the Year 1630, and ſerved the Church of *Salem* with Faithfulneſs, and Integrity till he died. Mr. *Roger Williams* was choſen to ſucceed him, a rigid *Browniſt*, preciſe, unchari-

uncharitable,* and of ſuch turbulent, and boiſte- An. 1634
rous Paſſions, as had like to have put the whole Country into a Flame; he came over to *New-England* in the Year 1630, and had been join'd immediately with Mr. *Skelton*, if the Civil Magiſtrate had not interpoſed, whereupon he retir'd in diguſt to *Plimouth*, and aſſiſted Mr. *Smith*, Paſtor of that Church for two Years, but not being eaſy in that Place, he deſired his Diſmiſſion, and returned to *Salem*; he preached to the People all the time of Mr. *Skelton*'s Sickneſs, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far into their Affections, by his vehement Manner of Delivery, that they choſe him Paſtor after the others Death: Being ſettled in the Church he began to vent his ſingular Notions, as, that *it was not lawful for an unregenerate Man to pray, nor for good Men to join in family Prayer with thoſe, they judged unregenerate.* That *it was not lawful to take an Oath to the civil Magiſtrate*, and therefore when the Oath of Allegiance was tendred him, he refuſed it, and adviſed his Church to do ſo too. That, *the Patent which they had for their Lands from King* Charles *was invalid, and an Inſtrument of Injuſtice, which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the Natives; the King of* England *having no Power to diſpoſe of their Lands to his own Subjects.* That *the Magiſtrates had nothing to do with Matters of the firſt Table, but only the ſecond*, that therefore *there ſhould be a general, and unlimited Toleration for all Religions, and to puniſh Men for Matters of Conſcience was Perſecution.* But tho' Mr. *Williams* was ſo large and generous in the Principles of Toleration, yet he was ſo preciſe in his own Conduct, as to deny all Communion with thoſe that were not exactly of his own Standard; he forbid the Members of

* Mather *Book* 7. page 7.

his

Anno 1634 his Church at *Salem*, to communicate occaſionally with the Church at *Boſton*, and becauſe they would not agree to it, he withdrew from them, and ſet up a ſeparate Meeting in his own Houſe, to which many of his zealous Admirers reſorted. The Miniſters of the other Churches took a great deal of Pains, to convince him of his Errors, but to no Purpoſe; whereupon the *Magiſtrates* interpos'd, and baniſhed him the *Maſſachuſet* Colony, as a Diſturber of the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth. I'll give the Reader but one Example of the ſeditious Tendency of Mr. *Williams*'s Principles. and the Influence they had on the publick Peace: * One of his Admirers in the Heat of his Zeal againſt Superſtition, by his own Authority cut the Red Croſs out of the King's Colours, for which he was reprimanded by the Government, turn'd out of his Place, and diſabled from bearing any Office in the State for one Year; but tho' the Action of tearing the Colours in that publick Manner was univerſally diſapprov'd, as riotous and ſeditious, yet the People began to be divided in their Opinions concerning the Lawfulneſs *of the Croſs in the Banner*, nay, the Controverſy got into the Preſs, ſeveral learned Treaties being writ on both ſides; but the worſt of all was, that the Trained Bands were divided, ſome refuſing to follow the Colours which had a *Croſs*, leſt they ſhould do Honour to an Idol; others complying with it, leſt they ſhould ſeem to caſt off their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*. But to make all ſides eaſy it was agreed at laſt that the Croſs ſhould be kept in the Banners of Caſtles and Ships, where it was neceſſary; but in the Banners of the *trained Bands* it was generally omitted, till it was very lately

* Mather, Book 7. page 11.

in tro-

introduced. Sentence of Baniſhment being read againſt Mr. *Williams*, the whole Town of *Salem* was in an uproar; for ſuch was the Popularity of the Man, and ſuch the Compaſſion of the People, occaſion'd by his Followers raiſing a Cry of Perſecution againſt him, that he would have carried off the greateſt part of the Inhabitants of the Town, if the Miniſters of *Boſton* had not interpoſed, by ſending an Admonition to the Church of *Salem*, with a Confutation in writing of Mr. *Williams*'s Errors, ſhewing their Tendency to diſturb the publick Peace both in Church and State; by this means the greateſt Part of the People were ſatisfied, or content at leaſt to abandon their dear Mr. *Williams*, to whoſe Opinions and Doctrines they were but too much devoted. Anno 1634

BUT after all a conſiderable Number of his Friends reſolved to hazard their Lives and Fortunes with him; with theſe he travelled towards the South, and ſettled at a Place without the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, which they called *Providence*; here they incoporated into a Church, but proceeding from one Whimzy to another, they ſoon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy till at laſt Religion it ſelf grew into Contempt, and the publick Worſhip of God was generally neglected.

MR. *Williams* lived in theſe Parts above forty Years afterwards, and acquitted himſelf ſo well in many Things, that he regained the good Opinion of his Countrymen, and held a Correſpondence with many worthy Perſons in the Colony from whence he had been baniſhed; he was recommended to the Favour of the *Maſſachuſet* Government by ſome of the *Engliſh Nobility*, but they could not be prevailed with to take off the Sentence againſt him; he writ very handſomely againſt the Principles and Practices of the *Quakers*, and was very diligent in Converting the

Anno 1634 the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood, of whoſe Manners, Cuſtoms and Languages, he publiſhed an Account; he was very ſerviceable, in obtaining a *Charter* for the Government of *Rhode-Iſland*, which was in the Neighbourhood of his Town of *Providence*, and was ſometimes choſen their Governour: In a Word, if he had never dabled in Divinity, he would have been eſteemed a great and uſeful Man.

A Fleet of no leſs than 20 Sail of Merchant-Men arrived at *New-England* this Summer with Goods and Paſſengers for the Plantation, amongſt whom was Mr. *Henry Vane*, afterwards Sir *Henry Vane*, Jun. a warm, hot-headed young Gentleman, whoſe Zeal for pure Religion made him deſirous to come into theſe parts, his Father was againſt his making the Voyage; but the King being informed of his Son's Inclinations, obliged him to conſent to it for three Years: His Deſign was to have begun a Settlement upon the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, but the people upon his Arrival complimenting him, with the Government of the *Maſſachuſets* for the next Year, he reſolved to ſtay among them; he was no ſooner advanced to the Government, but he appeared to be a perſon of no conduct, and no Ways equal to the poſt he was preferred to; being a ſtrong Enthuſiaſt, he openly eſpouſed the *Antinomian* Doctrines, and gave ſuch Encouragement to the Preachers and Spreaders of them; as rais'd their Vanity, and gave them ſuch an Intereſt among the People, as the very next Year had like to have prov'd fatal both to the Church and Commonwealth; but the ſober Party obſerving his conduct, concerted ſuch Meaſures among themſelves, as put an End to his Government the next Election.

"MR. *Vane*'s Election (ſays a new *Engliſh* "Manuſcript) will remain a Blemiſh to their

"Judg-

"Judgments * who did elect him, while *New-England* remains a Nation; for coming from *England* a young unexperienc'd Gentleman, by the Induſtry of ſome who thought to make a Tool of him, he was elected Governour, and before he was ſcarce warm in his Seat fell in with the Sectaries, and ſacrificed the Peace of the State to them, thereby leaving us a *Caveat*, that all good Men are not fit for Government." Some Time after he return'd privately to *England*, and was choſen a Member of the Long Parliament, and being an active Stateſman in thoſe Times, and an Enemy to all Sorts of Monarchy, he was excepted out of the King's Pardon, and executed as a Traitor, *June* 14, 1662, about the 50th Year of his Age. Dr. *Kennet* Biſhop of *Peterborough* ſays, *He ſubmitted to the Block in a very diſcompoſed Manner* †, but if this were true, the Treatment he met with on the Scaffold was enough to have diſcompoſed a Man of better Principles than his, for as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, the Drums and Trumpets were order'd to drown his Voice with their Noiſe, and the Sheriff offer'd to ſnatch his Papers out of his Hands, but he tore them in Pieces, and according to the Report of ſome that were preſent at his Execution, and thoſe none of his Friends neither, he dyed like a *Roman*, with the utmoſt Bravery and Reſolution. Anno 1635

In the ſame Fleet with Mr. *Vane* came over the Reverend Mr. *Avery*, who upon his Arrival was invited to *Marble-Head*; but there being no Church form'd in the place, he declined the Invitation, and went to *Newbury*, but the Magiſtrates urging the common Good, he at laſt conſented; and embarked with Mr. *Thacher*, and

* Mather *Book* 3. *p.* 77.
† *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 3. p. 298.

Anno 1635 about 23 more in a Pinnace for *Marble-Head*; upon the 14th of *Auguſt* as he was on his Voyage, there aroſe as great a Storm as ever was known in thoſe parts of the World, which drove the Pinnace upon a Rock, and tore it in ſuch a manner that it was in an Inſtant half full of Water, and in a very few minutes ſhatter'd all to pieces; all the company got upon the Rock, but were ſucceſſively waſh'd off and drowned, except Mr. *Thacher* and his Wife; Mr. *Avery* and Mr. *Thacher* held one another by the Hand, reſolving to dye together; Mr. *Avery* was waſh'd off by the next Wave and drowned, Mr. *Thacher* ſoon after followed him, but by another Wave was thrown aſhore very much bruiſed; and found his Wife a Sharer in the like Deliverance; the Iſland was from hence called *Thacher's Woe*, and the Rock, *Avery's Fall*.

At the ſame Time came over the Reverend Mr. *Richard Mather*, Grand-father of Dr. *Cotton Mather*, at preſent the worthy Paſtor of the North Church in *Boſton*; he ſucceeded Mr. *Warham* at *Dorcheſter* in the Year 1636, and continued there a Bleſſing to all the *New-England* Churches, for above 34 Years.

THE *Indians* on the Borders ſtill continued their Excurſions againſt the *Engliſh*, they ſurpriſed a Bark about this Time ſailing from the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, to the Southward, which by Streſs of Weather was drove aſhore at *Long Iſland*, and plunder'd it, killed ſeveral of the Sailors, and then retired into the Woods.

1636 A Project having been formed the laſt Year for making a Settlement on the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, as well to give a check to the Inſolence of the *Pequot Indians*, as to enlarge the *Engliſh* Frontiers; Agents were ſent to view the Country, who made ſuch an advantagious Report of the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and Large-

Largeneſs of the River, as made many of the Planters belonging to the Towns of *New Town*, *Dorcheſter*, *Water Town*, and *Roxbury*, who began to be ſtraightned for Room, entertain Thoughts of tranſplanting themſelves thither. Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Miniſter of *New Town*, put himſelf at the Head of theſe new Adventurers, who were about 100 in Number; they ſet out in the Month of *June*, and travelling on Foot, with their Children and Baggage about 9 or 10 Miles a Day, they arrived at the Banks of the River *Connecticut* in ſomewhat leſs than a Fortnight; they pitch'd on the further ſide of the River, and began a Town which they called *Hertford*; after theſe, another Detachment went from *Dorcheſter*, and built a little Town which they called *Windſor*; a third Party went from *Water-Town*, and built *Weathersfield*; and a fourth from *Roxbury*, and built *Springfield*. They had agreed to be ſupplied with Proviſions for the firſt Year from the *Bay*, but the Weather coming in very hard on a ſudden, the Veſſel which was freighted with their Proviſions was frozen up at the Mouth of the River 60 Miles below the Plantation, by which means they were expoſed to inconceivable Hardſhips. Many of them travell'd back to the Bay in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it, were frozen to Death by the Way; but the greateſt part of them had Courage enough to maintain their Ground in Defiance of thoſe two great Enemies of Mankind, Hunger and Cold. The next Spring they carried on their Plantations with ſuch Succeſs, that they were not only in a capacity of ſubſiſting themſelves, but of making Head againſt their Enemies. They had a Sort of Commiſſion from the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice 'till they could come to a more orderly Settlement; but finding themſelves

Anno 1636

Anno 1636 without the Limits of *their* Juriſdiction, they enter'd into a Voluntary Aſſociation, chuſing Magiſtrates, and making Laws for themſelves, after the Example of the Colony from whence they iſſued. Thus they continued until the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. when by the Induſtry and Application of Mr. *John Winthrop*, jun. they obtained as ample a Charter, as was ever enjoyed by any People.

SOME few Years after the Beginning of this Settlement *George Fenwick*, Eſq; was ſent to *New-England*, on Account of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who had bought of the Lord *Say* and *Brook* ſome Lands on the Banks of the River which ran thro' *Connecticut*-Colony. The Lord *Say* and *Brook*'s Title to that Territory came by a Grant from *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, to whom K. *Charles* about the Year 1630, made a Grant of all that Part of *New-England*, which lyes and extends itſelf from a River called *Narrhaganſet*, for the Space of 40 Leagues upon a ſtrait Line near the Sea-Shore towards the South-Weſt, and by South or Weſt, as the Coaſt lyes towards *Virginia*, accounting 3 *Engliſh* Miles to the League; and alſo all and ſingular the Lands, and Hereditaments lying and being within the Lands aforeſaid, North and South, in Latitude and Breadth; and in Length and Longitude of, and within all the Breadth aforeſaid, throughout the main Lands there, from the Weſtern Ocean to the South Sea, and all Lands, *&c.* which Grant the Earl of *Warwick* made over to *William* Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, *Robert* Lord *Brooks*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Charles Fiennes*, Eſq; Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Richard Knightly*, Eſq; *John Pym*, Eſq; *John Hampden*, Eſq; *John Humphry*, Eſq; and *Herbert Pelham*, Eſq; as appears by a Copy of the Patent bearing Date, *Anno* 1631. Which I mention the rather, becauſe it con-

confirms what has been reported by ſeveral Hiſtorians, that Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pelham*, and other great Men in the Long Parliament, were about to remove to *New-England* before the Alterations which happened at home kept them here. * Anno 1636

Mr. *Fenwick* ſeated himſelf at the Mouth of the River, and built the Town called *Say-Brook*. *John Winthrop*, Eſq; aſſiſted him in his Undertaking, and had thoughts of ſettling there himſelf; to which End he obtained a Grant of ſome of the Land, but neither he, nor Mr. *Fenwick* finding the Encouragement they expected, by conſent of their *Principals*, they ſold all their Right and Title to their Land to the Colony of *Connecticut*, who were the more willing to purchaſe it, becauſe they had no manner of legal Title, as yet, to any of the Lands they poſſeſs'd without the Line of the *Maſſachuſet* Charter.

The *Pequot Indians* gave the new Planters all the Diſturbance they could, which obliged them to keep together in a Body for their Defence; the *Indians* however picked up ſeveral Straglers, as they were going about their Buſineſs, and put them to the moſt cruel and barbarous Death, bidding them in their Torments call upon their God to deliver them. Mr. *John Oldham*, an Inhabitant of the *Maſſachuſets*, going into thoſe parts with a ſmall trading Veſſel ſlenderly manned, they pick'd a Quarrel with him on ſome ſlender Pretence, ſeized his Veſſel, and cut off his Head with a Hatchet, at a Place which the *Indians* call *Maniſſes*, but the *Engliſh*, *Block-Iſland*; *Oldham* was a brave Man, and would have defended himſelf, if his Men would have ſtood by him, but being overpowered with Numbers, he was forced to ſubmit to the Death they in-

* Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. Vol. I. *in Preſ.* p. 12.

Anno 1637 flicted upon him; but it was not long before the *Maſſachuſets* revenged his Murder upon the whole *Pequot* Nation, as the Reader will ſee in the next Chapter.

THE State of Religion in *England* was ſtill growing worſe and worſe; for the Arch-Biſhop proſecuted the *Puritans* with the utmoſt Rigour, oppreſſing them in all Quarters of the Land, and encouraging the Scum of the People to turn Informers againſt them; if a ſober conſcientious Miniſter ventured to reprove one of his Pariſhioners for Drunkenneſs; or refuſed him the Sacrament, he was certainly ſent for up into the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and deprived of his Living, himſelf impriſoned, and his Family ruined. Men were not ſuffered to complain, nor publiſh their Hardſhips to the World; to expreſs ones Fears of the Growth of Popery, to cenſure the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, nay, to pity the Sufferers was an unpardonable Crime. The Sufferings of Dr. *Baſtwick*, *Burton* and *Prynne* this very Year are a proof of this; they were tried in the *Star-Chamber*, for publiſhing Libellous Books againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and becauſe the Defendant's Council would not ſign the Anſwer which they had drawn up, the Court would not receive them, but order'd each Perſon to be proceeded againſt *pro Confeſſo*: The Sentence of the Court was 500 *l.* upon each Delinquent to the King, ſtanding in the Pillory with the Loſs of Ears, and the very Remainder of Ears, after which they were committed cloſe Priſoners to ſeveral remote Iſlands, no Acceſs of Friends being allowed them.

THE Eccleſiaſtical Authority being ſcrewed up to ſuch a Height, and the *Point* of it directed chiefly againſt the *Puritans*, 'tis no Wonder that vaſt Numbers, both Miniſters and People, tranſported themſelves to *New-England*,

'till

'till the Government at length took Umbrage at it, and publiſhed a *Proclamation* bearing Date *April* the 30th, * "To reſtrain the diſorderly "Tranſporting of his Majeſty's Subjects to the "Plantations in *America* without a Licence "from his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, *becauſe of the "many idle and refractory Humours, whoſe only or "principal End was to live without the Reach of "Authority*". And the next Day an Order was made in Council, "That the Lord Treaſurer "of *England* ſhould take ſpeedy and effectual "Courſe for the Stay of 8 Ships now in the "River of *Thames* prepared to go for *New-"England*, and ſhould likewiſe give Order for "the putting on Land all the Paſſengers and "Proviſions therein intended for the Voyage." In theſe Ships were † Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, who with ſeveral other Gentlemen were removing to *New-England*; and becauſe ſeveral of the Clergy under Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures were willing to accept of the ſame Protection and Refuge, therefore another Order of Council was directed to the Lord Admiral, "To ſtop all Miniſters uncon-"formable to the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of "the Church, who frequently tranſport them-"ſelves to the *Summer Iſlands*, and other his "Majeſty's Plantations abroad; and that no "Clergyman ſhould be ſuffered to go over with-"out Approbation, of the Lords Arch-Biſhop "of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*." So that here was a double perſecution of the *Puritans*; they were not ſuffer'd to live at home, nor yet to ſeek Peace and Refuge abroad; when *Lewis*

Anno 1637

* *Compleat Hiſt. of* Eng. Vol. III. *p.* 83.

† Mather *Book* I. p. 23.

Anno 1637 the *Fourteenth* King of *France* repeal'd the Edict of *Nants*, he allow'd his Proteſtant Subjects a Time to go into Baniſhment, and ſhelter themſelves among thoſe that would receive them; but the Archbiſhop's Zeal carried him farther, for he would neither let thoſe poor People, that were ſo unhappy as to differ from him in a few Rites and Ceremonies of human Inſtitution, live in the Kingdom, nor out of it.

BUT notwithſtanding the watchful Eye of the Government, ſo many Paſſengers tranſported themſelves and Families to *New-England* this Summer, as over-ſtock'd the *Bay*, and produced a fourth Grand Settlement on the South Weſt Parts of *Connecticut* River. The Leaders of this Colony were *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; and the Reverend Mr. *John Davenport*, who came over with a very great Retinue of Acquaintance and Followers. The *Maſſachuſets* would fain have perſuaded them to ſettle in the Bay; but they being inform'd of a large Bay to the South Weſt of *Connecticut* River, commodious for Trade, and capable to entertain thoſe that were to follow them, purchaſed of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and *Hudſon*'s River, which divides the Southern Parts of *New-England* from *New-York*, and remov'd thither towards the latter End of the Summer. They ſeated themſelves in the Bay, and ſpread along the Coaſt, where they built firſt the Town of *Newhaven*, which gives Name to the Colony; and then the Towns of *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford* and *Brainford*. After ſome time they croſs'd the Bay, and made ſeveral Settlements in *Long-Iſland*, erecting Churches in all Places where they came, after the *Independent* Form, of which Mr. *Davenport* was a very Great Patron: But the *Newhaven* Colony lay under the ſame Diſavantage with *Connecticut* as to a Charter; they were without

the

the *Maſſachuſet* Juriſdiction, and were therefore under no Government, nor had any other Title to their Lands, but what they had from the Natives. They entred therefore into a Voluntary Combination, and formed themſelves into a Body politick, after the manner of thoſe of *Connecticut*. Thus they continued 'till the Year 1664, when K. *Charles* II. united the Two Colonies; and by a Charter ſettled their Liberties on a ſolid Foundation. Anno 1637

WHILE the South Weſt parts of *New-England* were thus filling with Inhabitants, the North Eaſt Parts of the Country were not neglected. There were ample Regions on this ſide, beyond the *Line* of the *Maſſachuſet*-Patent, where new Settlements were attempted by ſome that were made uneaſy under the *Maſſachuſet* Government, in the Time of their *Antinomian* Quarrels, and by others that had no other View but enriching themſelves by the Fiſhing Trade at Sea, and the Beaver Trade aſhore; thus were the Provinces of *Eaſt Hampſhire* and *Main* peopled, and continued a ſeparate Government, 'till being wearied out with Quarrels and Diviſions among themſelves, they petition'd the General Court of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* to be taken under their Protection, and were accordingly received.

THUS we have given the Reader an Account of the Riſe of the four Settlements that were made in *New-England* within the compaſs of 17 Years; there was another ſmall one made ſome Time after in *Rhode-Iſland* upon the Borders of the Juriſdiction of *Plimouth*, by the *Antinomians* that were baniſhed from the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, who obtained a *Charter* for themſelves upon the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. and are ſtill a diſtinct Government from the *Maſſachuſets*, but as the Limits of their Country are very narrow, they have no Influence upon the publick Affairs of the Province.

SOME

Anno 1637 SOME of the good People of *New-England* have condemned theſe Settlements, as contrary to the Law of Nature; no foreign Prince having a Right to diſpoſe of a Country already inhabited to his own Subjects, nor to give a Commiſſion to drive the Natives out of their Poſſeſſions, without a previous Forfeiture: * But in Anſwer to this, the *New-England* Gentlemen have declared, that their Entrance upon the Land was not with Violence and Intruſion, but free and fair, with the conſent and allowance of the People; the chief *Sagamores* of all that part of the Country entertaining them heartily, and profeſſing, they were all very welcome; that none of the *Engliſh* were ſuffer'd to take an Acre of Land from the Natives, without giving them Satisfaction for it. Dr. *Mather* adds, That the *Engliſh* did not claim one Foot of Ground in the Country 'till they had fairly purchaſed it of the Natives; nay, ſo cautious were they, of doing them any Injuſtice, that after ſome Time, they made a Law, that none ſhould purchaſe or receive any Lands of the *Indians*, without Allowance of the Court; and ſome Lands which lay convenient for the *Indians*, they made a Law, ſhould never be purchaſed out of their Hands. It was further Enacted, That if any *Indian* ſhould be civilized, and deſire to live among the *Engliſh*, he ſhould have an Alotment of Land, as they themſelves had; and if a competent Number of them ſhould agree to live together, they ſhould be incorporated, and the General Court ſhould grant them Lands for a Plantation, as they do the *Engliſh*, tho' they had already bought their Claims of them. It was further Enacted, That if any of the *Engliſh* Cattle ſhould do any

* New-England *Firſt-Fruits*, 1643. p. 8.

Damage,

Damage to the Corn of the *Indians*, the Owners of them ſhould be obliged to make good the Damage, and that they ſhould give the *Indians* all friendly Aſſiſtance in ſowing their Fields; after all this, the Doctor thinks it very ſtrange for Secretary *Randolph* to affirm, "That the barba- "rous *Savages* were never civilly treated, but "that the Government of *New-England* were "continually encroaching on their Lands, 'till "at laſt they would turn them out of all." And if the Doctor's Allegations are true, *That the Lands were purchaſed with a Valuable Conſideration from thoſe Natives, who had a Right to diſpoſe of them, according to the Cuſtoms of the Country.* Such an Objection muſt be very unreaſonable; but if not, the *New-England* Free-holders muſt ſatisfy themſelves with this, that they have as fair a Title to their Eſtates, as any of the *Europeans*, that have made Settlements upon the Continent of *America*, ſince the firſt Diſcovery of it by the *Spaniard*.

Anno 1637

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Pequot *War. Disturbances occasioned by the* Antinomians. *The first* Synod *of* New-England, *with an Account of the Nature and Use of* Synods, *according to the Principles of the* Independents. *The Story of Mrs.* Hutchinson. *Of* Rhode-Island, *and its Inhabitants. The Foundation of* Harvard-College, *and of the Publick Library. The Method of Education, and of taking Degrees. Of the* New-English *Version of the* Psalms. *A Stop put to the further Increase of the* Colonies *from* England, *by the Eclipse of the Episcopal Power. A Computation of the Number of* Planters, *that settled in* New-England *before the Year* 1641; *with an Estimate of the Charges of the several Settlements. A List of the Silenced Ministers who left their Native Country, and settled in* New-England. *The Union of the Four Grand Settlements of* New-England. *The Death and Character of Mr.* Brewster. *The Commotions at* Hingham.

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THE *English* had acted hitherto only on the defensive against the *Indians*, who watched all Opportunities to distress them in their Settlements; the *Pequots*, a politick and fierce Nation, on the Banks of a fair River, about

about 12 Miles East of *Connecticut*-River had been accessory to the Murder of Capt. *Stone* and his Ship's Crew, as we have observed before, in the Year 1634, but being at War with the *Dutch* and *Narrhaganſets* at that Time, they were unwilling to come to an open Rupture with the *Engliſh*, but ſent Meſſengers with Preſents to the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets* to deſire his Friendſhip: Mr. *Winthrop* however, diſmiſs'd them without any poſitive Anſwer, but the *Pequots* preſſing the Governour by a ſecond Embaſſy, he at laſt concluded a Peace with them upon theſe Conditions. "That they ſhould de- "liver up thoſe Men who had been guilty of "*Stone*'s Death; that if the *Engliſh* ſhould have "a Mind to plant at *Connecticut*, they ſhould "yield up their Right to them, and that there "ſhould be a free Trade between the two "Nations." To this they agreed; and deſired the *Engliſh* to mediate a Peace between them and the *Narrhaganſets*, and for the facilitating of it, to give them Part of the Preſent of *Wampam* and *Beaver*, that they had brought with them, for they ſtood ſo much upon their Honour, that they would not have it known, that they bribed their Enemies to make Peace: But tho' the *Pequots* yielded to the Demands of the *Engliſh* with Relation to Capt. *Stone*, yet they ſtill juſtify'd the Action, ſaying, *That he was killed in a juſt Quarrel, becauſe he ſurpriſed two of the* Indians, *and forced them to pilot his Veſſel up the River againſt their Wills.* They added, *That all that had any Share in the Action were ſince dead, except two, whom they would deliver up.* But when a Bark was ſent to receive the Criminals, and open a Trade, they amuſed them with fair Words, but never performed a Tittle of their Contract, which broke off all further Correſpondence.

Anno 1637

SOON

Anno 1637. SOON after this they murder'd Mr. *Oldham*, and before the *Engliſh* had perfected their Settlements on *Connecticut*-River, they fell openly upon them, killed 9 Men at *Weathersfield*, and took 2 young Women Priſoners, who had been tortured to Death, if the *Sachem*'s Wife had not taken a Fancy to them, and begged them of her Husband: Upon this, the Captains *Endicott*, *Underhill*, and *Turner* were ſent by the Governour and Council of *Boſton* with 120 Men to demand the Murderers, but they refuſed to ſurrender them; the *Engliſh* therefore purſued them into the Woods, kill'd one of their Men, and having deſtroyed their Corn and Hutts returned home. In the Spring of this Year the *Pequots* aſſaulted *Say-Brook*-Fort at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut*, but without Succeſs, it being well fortify'd, and garriſon'd with 20 Men; however, they killed ſeveral of the People, as they were at Work in the Fields; this made the Planters ſtand upon their Guard in all Places, and ſend to their Friends and Confederates in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* for Aſſiſtance; Mr. *Vane* the Governour of that Juriſdiction writ to the Governour and Council of *New-Plimouth* to join with them, which they promiſed, but were ſo dilatory in their Proceedings, that the War was in a Manner over before their Forces began to march.

THE *Pequots*, ſeeing the Storm that was coming upon them, * were not wanting in their Preparations to make the beſt Defence they could: They urged the *Narrhaganſets* to make Peace, and join with them againſt the Common Enemy, "telling them that the *Engliſh* were overſpread-"ing their Country, and if they were ſuffered "to grow and encreaſe, would deprive them of

* New-England *Memorial*, p. 100.

"it

" it in a little Time; That if the *Narrhaganſets* Anno
" aſſiſted the *Engliſh* in deſtroying the *Pequots*, 1637
" they did but make way for their own Ruin,
" for when one Nation was deſtroyed, the *Eng-*
" *liſh* would ſoon take Occaſion to enſlave the
" other. But if the *Narrhaganſets* would take
" their Advice and join with them, they need
" not fear the ſtrength of the *Engliſh*, for they
" would not come to a pitch'd Battle with them,
" but Fire their Houſes, kill their Cattle, and
" lye in Ambuſh for them as they went abroad
" upon their Occaſions, in which Caſe it was
" eaſy to foreſee that the *Engliſh* could not long
" ſubſiſt, but muſt either be ſtarved with Hunger,
" or forced to quit the Country." But the de-ſire of Revenge upon an old Enemy, who had offer'd them a thouſand Injuries, made the *Narr-haganſets* renounce all Propoſals of Accommoda-tion with the *Pequots*, and aſſiſt the *Engliſh* in their Proſecution of the War.

IN the beginning of *May* the Colony of *Con-necticut* ſent out 90 Men under the Command of Capt. *John Maſon*, afterwards Deputy Govern-our of the Colony, attended by *Uncas* an *Indian Sachem* lately revolted from the *Pequits*; the Gar-riſon of *Saybrook* joined them with nineteen Men under Capt. *Underhill*, and the *Maſſachuſet* Colony raiſed 160 Men under the Command of *Iſrael Stoughton* Eſq; 40 of which they diſpatched a-way immediately under Captain *Patrick*; but before their Arrival the Colony of *Connecticut* had ſhip'd of their Forces, and landed them at the *Narrhaganſet* Port; Captain *Maſon* marched his Men immediately to the chief *Sachems* Reſidence, and acquainted him with the Reaſons of their coming into his Country with an armed Force, deſiring only a free Paſſage thro' his Country; the *Sachem* yielded to their Requeſt, but told them their Army was too weak for the Enemy. Next

Morning

Anno 1637 Morning they marched to *Niantick* 20 Miles up the Country and were joined by 500 of the Natives, who drawing into a Ring, made ſolemn Proteſtations one by one, how gallantly they would behave themſelves, and how many of the Enemy they would kill; but no ſooner were they come to the Frontiers of the *Pequot* Country, but the greateſt Part of them ſtruck with a Pannick Fear, return'd home; only *Uncas* and his Followers declared, they would live and die with the *Engliſh* however, 'tis obſervable; that even *Uncas* and his Men, who had always hitherto marched in the Van, now fell into the Reer; ſuch a Dread of the *Pequots* had they upon their Spirits.

THE *Pequots* were retired into two ſtrong Forts, one of which was ſituate on the Banks of the River *Miſtick*; the other about 8 Miles further, was the Head-Quarters of *Saſſacus* their *Sachem*, at whoſe Name the *Narrhaganſets* trembled, ſaying, *He was all one a God, no Body could kill him.* The Council of War determined to attack the firſt Fort they ſhould come at, which the *Indians* took Care ſhould not be that where *Saſſacus* was. They made their Approaches to it in the Night, and ſent an *Indian* to obſerve the Poſture of the Enemy, who found them all in a profound Sleep; the Army came up to the Fort about Break of Day, Capt. *Maſon* with his Company poſted himſelf on the Eaſt, and *Underhill* on the Weſt; but the *Narraganſets*, like Cowards, retired to ſuch a Diſtance, as to be only Spectators of the Action; when the Army came within a Rod of the Fort, a Dog barked, and awaken'd the Centinel, who immediately ran away, and cried out, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. *Engliſh, Engliſh*; the Soldiers entred the Fort at a Paſſage, which was only block'd up with Buſhes about Breaſt-high; Capt. *Maſon* was the firſt Man that leap'd into

it,

it, and made good his Ground 'till his Men could pull the Buſhes away; upon this followed a ſharp Engagement, in which ſeveral of the *Engliſh* were wounded, and many of the *Indians* killed; but the Houſes in the Fort being made of nothing but combuſtible Matts, joined cloſe to one another, the *Engliſh* ſet them on Fire, and retired, poſting themſelves at all the Avenues, to hinder the Enemies making their Eſcape. The Fire by the Advantage of the Wind carried all before it; many were burnt to Death, which the *Narrhaganſets*, from a diſtant riſing Ground where they had poſted themſelves, beheld with infinite Pleaſure and Satisfaction, dancing and hooping all the while, and inſulting over the dying Enemy: Some of the *Pequots* were ſhot as they were climbing over the Palliſadoes, and they who had the Courage to ſally out at the Gates in order to break thro' the Enemy, were either cut off by the *Engliſh*, or the *Narrhaganſets*; ſo that of 4 or 500 *Indians* that were in the Fort, not above 7 or 8 made their Eſcape. This memorable Action happened on the 20th of *May*, and coſt the *Engliſh* but 2 Men killed, and about 20 wounded. *Wequaſh*, the Guide that the *Engliſh* made Uſe of, was ſtruck with ſuch Admiration at this Victory, that he embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and after ſome Time became a Preacher of it to his Countrymen, but they inſulted him, and at laſt poiſoned him for it: The Reverend Mr. *Shepherd* of *Cambridge* gives this Account of him; * "*Wequaſh*, (ſays "he) *the famous* Indian *at the River's Mouth is* "*dead, who loved Chriſt, and preached him up and* "*down, and then ſuffer'd Martyrdom for him.* "*When he died he gave his Soul to Chriſt, and*

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* New-England's *Firſt-Fruits*, 1643. p. 7.

Anno 1637 " *his only Child to the* Engliſh, *in this Hope, that* " *the Child ſhould know more of Chriſt than its poor* " *Father did.*"

BUT tho' the *Engliſh* had been ſo ſucceſsful in deſtroying one of the Forts, they were far from thinking themſelves out of Danger, for they were a great Way from home; in want of all Neceſſaries, and afraid of the mighty *Saſſacus*'s falling upon their tired Forces, from the other Fort; nor were their Fears groundleſs, for as they were marching to the *Pequot* River, where they had ordered their Pinnaces to meet them; *Saſſacus* fell upon their Rear with 300 Men, which obliged them to march in cloſe Order, and retreat fighting for almoſt 6 Miles together; but the *Indians* took Care to keep pretty much out of the Reach of their Bullets, and when they ſaw them paſt a narrow Paſſage, where they hoped to have gained an Advantage over them, they retired, and the Army return'd home in Safety.

ABOUT 14 Days after, the *Maſſachuſet* Forces to the Number of 120 Men, arrived in the *Pequot*-River, * under the Command of Capt. *Stoughton*, which put new Life into the *Connecticut* Colony, and made them reſolve to purſue their Victory, tho' the *Narrhaganſets* were gone home, as being glad to ſee the *Pequots* humbled, but not willing to have them deſtroyed; they therefore ſent Capt. *Maſon* with 40 Men, and ſome Volunteer-Gentlemen to join the *Maſſachuſet*-Forces in the *Pequot* Harbour. Upon their Arrival it was concluded, to ſcour the Woods, and drive the Enemy out of the Country; for *Saſſacus*'s Men had already mutinied, and had it not been for the Entreaties of his Counſellors had certainly

* New-England *Mem.* p. 103. Incr. Math. *ib.* p. 36.

killed

killed him; however, they abandoned their Fort, dispers'd themselves into small Parties, and resolved every one to shift for himself: Many of them fled toward the *Dutch* Plantation, upon which the Army was order'd to march that Way; they coasted along the River, and scouring the Woods killed several of the *Pequots*, and took some Prisoners; they beheaded two *Sachems*, and gave a third his Life, upon Condition that he would find out *Sassacus*, and give them Advice where he was lodged; but *Sassacus* suspecting him to be a Spy, after he was gone fled to the *Mohawks*, and his Followers dispersed themselves in several small parties up and down the Country, which the *English* pursued 'till they broke to pieces. *Anno* 1637

On the 13th of *July* they met with a Body of 80 Men, and 200 Women and Children, in a small *Indian* Town close by a hideous *Swamp*, which they all slipt into before the *English* could come at them; the Army was then separated into several small parties, the better to look out the Enemy, but upon the discharging of a Musket they presently joined, and surrounded the *Swamp*, which was about a Mile in compass; but Lieut. *Davenport* with 12 Men coming in, after the Orders were given, instead of joining the Army, marched directly into the *Swamp* among the *Indians*, where he and all his Men had like to have been lost, for the *Swamp* being boggy, and full of Shrubs, they stuck fast in the Mud, and were forc'd to receive the Shot of the Enemy, without being capable of doing any Thing in their own Defence; Lieut. *Davenport* was dangerously wounded about his Arm-pit, another of his Men was shot in the Head; and they must all have perish'd, if Sergeant *Riggs* and Sergeant *Jefferies* with some Men had

Anno 1637 had not come into their Relief, and drawn them out.

THE *Indians* after this desired a Parley, which being granted, the *Sachem* of the Place, with some old Men and their Wives and Children, came out, and having conferr'd with the *English* about 2 Hours, return'd to their Company with the last Resolutions of the *English*, which were a Promise of their Lives, provided they laid down their Arms, and deliver'd up all such among them, as had kill'd any of the *English*. Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter was sent the same Night to receive their Answer, which was this, *That they would stand by one another, and sell their Lives as dear as they could*; and that Mr. *Stanton* might see they were in Earnest, they sent such a Flight of Arrows after him, that if he had not run as fast as he could to get out of their Reach he had certainly been killed: The *English* then cut off a Part of the *Swamp* with their Swords, and having cooped up the *Indians* within such a narrow Compass, that they could discern them thro' the Thickets, they stood to their Arms all Night, surrounding the *Swamp* at about 12 Foot Distance from one another; the *Indians* on the other Hand, let fly their Arrows so thick among the *English*, that they pierced the Cloths of several, but none received any considerable Hurt. Towards Morning it grew very dark, which gave most of the Men an Opportunity to make their Escape, but the Women and Children about Break of Day surrender'd at Discretion. In searching the *Swamp* 9 Men were found dead upon the Ground, and several others buried in the Bog; of those that slipp'd by the *English* some were killed in the Pursuit, and others were afterwards found in the Woods dead of their Wounds, so that 'tis computed that not above 20 or 30 got away. The Prisoners which were about 180, were divided, some to those of

Con-

Connecticut, and the reſt to the *Maſſachuſets*; the male Children were ſent away to *Bermudas*, and the Women and Girls diſperſed up and down in ſeveral Towns. Among the Priſoners that fell to the Share of the *Maſſachuſets*, were the Wife and Children of *Mononetto* an *Indian* Prince; ſhe was a Woman of a very modeſt Countenance and Behaviour; it was by her Interceſſion, that the *Engliſh* Maids taken at *Weathersfield*, had their Lives given them; and one of her firſt Requeſts to the *Engliſh* was, *That they would not abuſe her Body, nor take her Children from her*: The Governour therefore took Charge of her, and made her Captivity as eaſy as he could. Anno 1637

THIS Expedition againſt the *Pequots* ſtruck ſuch Terror into the reſt of the *Indians*, that they came from all Parts, and begg'd the Protection of the *Engliſh*: Two of the *Sachems* of *Long-Iſland* came to Mr. *Stoughton*, and deſired to be under his Protection, and two of the *Nepannet Sachems* ſubmitted to Mr. *Winthrop*; 700 *Pequots* periſhed, and were taken Priſoners this Summer, among whom were 13 *Sachems*; the reſt fled into diſtant Parts, or ſubmitted themſelves to the Mercy of the Conquerors, who divided them between the *Narrhaganſets* and the *Mohegins*, whoſe *Sachem Uncas* had proved a very faithful Ally. *Saſſacus* the mighty *Sachem* of the *Pequots* fled to the *Maqua's*, who at the Requeſt of the *Narrhaganſets* cut off his Head; his Country became a Province of the *Engliſh*, and was governed by ſuch a Perſon, as the *Engliſh* from Time to Time appointed to that Office.

WHILE the Army was thus employed in the Field, the Commonwealth * was almoſt torn in pieces by inteſtine Diviſions occaſion'd by the

* C. Mather, Book 7. page 14.

Anno 1637 ſpreading of *Familiſtical* and *Antinomian* Errors among the People; that the Reader may have a full View of the Controverſy, I'll trace it down from its Original: The Members of the Church of *Boſton* uſed to meet once a Week to repeat the Sermons which they had heard on the Lord's Day; and to debate upon the Doctrines contained in them, whereby they were ſometimes entangled in Points of Divinity too high for them; theſe Meetings being peculiar to the Men, at leaſt none elſe being allowed to debate in them; ſome of the *zealous Women* thought it might be uſeful for them to have ſuch Meetings among themſelves: Accordingly Mrs. *Hutchinſon*, a *Lincolnſhire* Gentlewoman, of a bold and maſculine Spirit, and a great Admirer of Mr. *Cotton*, ſet up one at her Houſe, grounding her Practice on theſe Words of the Apoſtle, *that the elder Women are to teach the younger*: The Novelty of the Thing, and the Fame of the Woman quickly gained her a numerous Audience; ſhe had no leſs than 60 or 80 Women at her Houſe every Week to hear her pray, and repeat Mr. *Cotton*'s Sermons, which ſhe explain'd, and afterwards made ſome Reflections of her own upon them. From theſe Meetings aroſe all the Errors that ſoon after overſpread the Country; Mrs. *Hutchinſon* taught her Diſciples, "*That Believers in Chriſt are perſonally united with* "*the Spirit of God; that Commands to work out our* "*Salvation with Fear and Trembling belong to none* "*but ſuch as are under the Covenant of Works;* "*that Sanctification is not a ſufficient Evidence of* "*a good State; ſhe likewiſe ſet up immediate Reve-* "*lations about future Events, to be believed as e-* "*qually infallible with the Scriptures;*" and a great many other Chimera's and Fancies, which under a Pretence of exalting the free Grace of God, deſtroyed the practical Part of Religion, and open'd a Door to all Sorts of Licentiouſneſs.

'Tis

'Tis incredible to think, how eaſily theſe Notions obtained among the People, the good Women inſinuated them into their Husbands, ſkreening them under the venerable Name of Mr. *Cotton*, by which Artifice many unthinking People were deceived; Mrs. *Hutchinſon* and her Admirers were indefatigable in ſpreading them, they inſinuated themſelves into all Families, and under a Shew of Humility and Self-denial craftily undermined the Reputation of the beſt Miniſters in the Country, calling them *Legaliſts*, *Men that were not acquainted with the Spirit of the Goſpel*, nay, *that were unacquainted with Chriſt himſelf*. The whole Country was diſtinguiſhed by this *Criterion*, *ſuch as were for a Covenant of Works, and ſuch as were for a Covenant of Grace*; theſe Diviſions crept not only into Families, but into Churches, and into the Legiſlature itſelf; the Colony of *Plimouth* was infected to ſuch a Degree, that they ſtarved away all their Old Miniſters, and ſet up Mechanics in their Room. There was ſuch an Intereſt made againſt the next Election of Magiſtrates for the *Maſſachuſet* Colony, to get in *Goſpel-Magiſtrates*, as they called them, that they were forced to adjourn the Court to *New-Town*, for Fear of a Riot. The Faction tried all Methods to keep in their old Governour *Vane*, they preſented a Petition to the Court on the very Day of Election, with a Deſign to hinder their proceeding to a new Choice, whereby the Time of Election being paſt, they would of Courſe have kept in their Governour *Vane* another Year; but when they could not obtain this, and the ſober Party made a Shift to carry the Election for Mr. *Winthrop*, * yet ſuch was the Influence of the Faction among the inferior Officers, that the Sergeants, whoſe Place it was to

Anno 1637

* Mather, *B.* 2. *p.* 11.

Anno 1637 attend the new *Governour*, laid down their Halberts and would not act: The *Governour* however, like a wiſe Man, took no further Notice of their Behaviour at preſent, than to order his own Servants to take up the Halberts, and march before him, but when he was ſettled in his Government, he made them feel the Weight of his Diſpleaſure; nay, the marching of the Army againſt the *Pequots* was retarded by theſe Men upon this very Account, becauſe the Officers and Soldiers were too much under a *Covenant of Works*: In a Word, both Church and State were in the utmoſt Confuſion, the Affections of the People were ſtrangely alienated from one another; they were always quarrelling, and upon every Occaſion ready to come to Blows.

THE Reverend Mr. *Cotton* was at this Time in high Reputation and Eſteem for his Learning and Orthodoxy all over the Country, which made both Parties claim him for their own; the *Antinomians* affirm'd, that the Doctrines they taught were regularly deduced from his Sermons, the Orthodox replied, that Mr. *Cotton* denied and diſavowed their Principles: Things came to ſuch an Extremity at laſt, that Mr. *Cotton* was deſired to declare himſelf freely upon theſe Heads in the Pulpit, which he accordingly did, and condemned moſt of the new Poſitions as falſe and erroneous. But the *Adverſaries* were advanced too far, to retreat with Honour, and therefore inſtead of being ſatisfied, they perſecuted Mr. *Cotton* with the bittereſt Reproaches, calling him a *timorous Man*, that durſt not abide by his own Principles; a *Deceiver*, that taught one Thing in publick, and another in private; and one, that had loſt all his Inſight into the Goſpel. One of the Party more witty than the reſt, ſent him a Preſent of a *Pound of Candles*, bidding his Servant tell him, *that it was becauſe he wanted Light*. And

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it muſt be confeſſed, that Mr. *Cotton* had too good an Opinion of Mrs. *Hutchinſon* for a long Time, never imagining that ſhe would have gone ſuch Lengths; for in his Company ſhe was always modeſt in her Diſcourſe, propoſing her Doubts to him, and ſeeming highly ſatisfied with his Anſwers; but now his Eyes began to be open'd, and he confeſſed with Tears, that *the Enemy had been ſowing Tares whilſt he had been aſleep.* The ill Treatment that he met with from the *Party*, made him reſolve to leave *Boſton*, and retire to *New-Haven*, which he had certainly done, if the *Civil Magiſtrate* had not interpoſed, and took ſome effectual Meaſures for the reſtoring of Peace. *Anno* 1637

A Faſt had been appointed for this Purpoſe as long ago as *December* laſt, when Mr. *Cotton* preached a very healing Sermon from *Iſa.* 58. 4. but Mr. *Wheelwright* the other Preacher, inſtead of following Mr. *Cotton*'s Example, filled his Sermon with bitter Invectives againſt the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the Country, telling the People, * "*That they walked in ſuch a Way of* "*Salvation, as was no better than a Covenant of* "*Works*: He compared them to *Jews*, *Herods*, "*Philiſtines*, and exhorted ſuch as were under a "Covenant of Grace to combat them as their "greateſt Enemies." The Magiſtrates hereupon ſent for the Preacher † next Court-day, and having heard what he could ſay in Defence of his Sermon, they condemned it as *ſeditious*, *and tending to diſturb the publick Peace*; they endeavoured to convince Mr. *Wheelwright* of his Offence, but could make no Impreſſions upon him;

* T. Welde's *Account of the Riſe, Reign, and Ruin of the* Antinomians *in* New-England, 4*to*. 1692. † *In* Pref.

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Anno 1637 however, they gave him Time 'till the next Seſſions, to conſider whether he would make his Submiſſion, or abide the Sentence of the Court.

THE *Antinomian* Party were ſo alarm'd at this Attack upon their Preacher, that they met together the very ſame Night, and drew up a Petition, or Remonſtrance againſt the Proceedings of the Court, wherein they declare it as their Opinion, * "That Mr. *Wheelwright* had not been guilty of any "ſeditious Fact; that his *Doctrine* was not ſeditious, being no other than the Expreſſions of "Scripture; that it had produced no ſeditious "Effects, for his Followers had not drawn their "Swords, nor endeavoured to reſcue their innocent Brother; they deſired the Court therefore to "conſider the Danger of meddling with the Prophets of God, and to remember, that even "the Apoſtle *Paul* himſelf had been called a "peſtilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition, and a "Ring-leader of a Sect." This Petition was delivered into Court within a Day or two after the Cenſure of Mr. *Wheelwright*'s Sermon, ſign'd with above 60 Hands, whereof ſome were Members of the Court; but it was rejected by the Majority, and the chief of the Petitioners were ſeverely puniſhed for it the next Seſſions.

THINGS growing ſtill worſe and worſe, it was thought adviſeable to call a *Synod* of all the Churches in the Country, to give their Judgments upon the controverted Points: This being the firſt *Synod* of *New-England*, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to underſtand the Nature and Uſe of *Synods*, according to the Principles of the *Independents*. A *Synod*, according to them, is not neceſſary to the Being of a Church, but is only to be called on ſpecial

* *Ibid.* p. 24.

Occa-

Occaſions, for giving Advice and Counſel in Caſes of Difficulty. It conſiſts of the Miniſters and Lay-Meſſengers of the ſeveral Churches choſen from among themſelves, whoſe Buſineſs is to debate and determine the ſeveral Matters that are brought before them, and then to preſent them to their ſeveral Churches for their Approbation, without which they are of no Force; no *Synod* is allowed a Power to paſs Church-Cenſures upon Perſons, or put forth any Act of Authority, Juriſdiction, or Diſcipline; but only to declare their Sentiments, and give their Advice. In a Word, an *Independent Synod* is nothing elſe but a Council to the ſeveral Churches, called together upon proper Occaſions, not to make Laws and Decrees which ſhall bind Men upon Pain of Excommunication or Deprivation, but to adviſe them how to act under their preſent Difficulties; and if a Church or private Perſon refuſes to hearken to their Advice, the laſt Remedy is, to declare they will no longer hold Communion with them: Magiſtrates have Power to call a *Synod* when the publick Welfare of the Country requires it; and may ſend to the Churches, to commiſſion their Elders and Meſſengers to meet together, and aſſiſt them with their Advice; but if the Magiſtrate neglects, or is of a different Religion, any particular Church may ſend to the reſt, and deſire their Advice in the ſame Way. Anno 1637.

* SUCH a Synod as this was now appointed to meet at *Newtown*, *Auguſt* the 30th, in which were preſent not only the Miniſters and Meſſengers of the ſeveral Churches, but the Magiſtrates for keeping the Peace, who were allowed not only to hear but to ſpeak, if they had a

* *Ibid. in Pref.*

Mind

Mind; a Place was likewiſe appointed for the
1637 *Favourers of the new Opinions*, and the Doors were ſet open for as many of the People as pleaſed to come in and hear the Debates: The firſt Day was ſpent in chooſing the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Peter Bulkley* Moderators, and reading over a Liſt of 82 erroneous Opinions which had been maintain'd in ſeveral Parts of the Country, ſome of which were the the moſt monſtrous and abſurd that ever were heard; the following Days were taken up in debating upon the ſeveral Points, in which they obſerved this Method; in the Morning a Committee was employ'd in forming Arguments againſt the Errors to be confuted that Day, which in the Afternoon were produced in the Synod; next Day the Defendants gave in their Reply, and produced their Arguments for the Support of their ſide of the Queſtion; the third Day, the Opponents made the laſt Reply. But the *Antinomian* Party were inſufferably rude; they broke in frequently upon the Order of Diſputation, and were ſo clamorous that the Magiſtrates were obliged ſometimes to ſilence them.

AT length all the new Opinions in general were condemned as contrary to the Word of God, † by the univerſal Suffrage of the *Synod*, and the Condemnation was ſigned by all the Members but Mr. *Cotton*, who, tho' he expreſs'd his diſlike of the major Part of them, refuſed to condemn them in the Lump; he differed from the Synod in the Article of *Juſtification*, being of Opinion, that *Union to Chriſt was before Faith in him*, and in three or four other Articles relating to the ſame Head. The Synod endeavour'd to convince him of his miſtakes, but in vain; as for the reſt

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* *C. Mather* B. 7. p. 17.

of

of the new Opinions, "He declared that he "disliked them, *as being some of them Heretical, some of them Blasphemous, some of them Erroneous, and All of them incongruous,*" and promis'd to join heartily with his Brethren in bearing his Testimony against them; then the Reverend Mr. *Davenport* put an End to the Synod after it had continued three Weeks, by preaching a Sermon on *Phil.* iii. 16. *Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us mind the same Things.* After Sermon, he read openly the Determinations of the Synod with relation to the new Opinions, which were drawn up not in the Form of *Anathema's*, but the Opinion was recited and this short Reflection subjoined, *This we apprehend contrary to such and such a Text of Scripture.* He then exhorted the Ministers and Messengers to perswade their several Churches to conform themselves to the Sentiments of the Synod, and so dismiss'd them. Anno 1637

ONE would have thought, this unanimous Voice of the Synod, which was published for general Satisfaction, should have quieted the Minds of the People, but the Heads of the Faction were not to be vanquished with Scripture and Reason; for Mr. *Wheelwright* continued still his Preaching, and Mrs. *Hutchinson*, her Assembly; and their Followers were so influenced by their Doctrines, that when Mr. *Wilson* went up into the Pulpit, half the Congregation would go out; the Court therefore at their next Sessions which was on the second of *October*, resolved to have recourse to the last Remedy, which was the Sword of the Magistrate. They met at *New-Town*; for the Town of *Boston*, was so infected with the new Opinions that they were afraid of a Riot; one of the *Boston* Deputies having signed the late Remonstrance in favour of Mr. *Wheelwright*, and two of the others having spoke in Vin-

May 1637 Vindication of it, were expell'd the Court, and an Order ſent to *Boſton* to chooſe new Repreſentatives, which the angry People could hardly be perſwaded to comply with.

BUT the Court reſolving to go through with their Work, * ſummoned Mr. *Wheelwright* to give in his peremptory Anſwer, whether he would acknowledge his Offence in preaching his late ſeditious Sermon, or abide the Sentence of the Court; his Anſwer was, "That he had been "guilty of no Sedition, nor Contempt; that he "had delivered nothing but the Truth of Chriſt, "and for the Application of his Doctrine, that "it was made by others, and not by himſelf." The Court then deſired him, out of a Regard to the publick Peace, to leave the Colony of his own Accord; which he refuſing, they ſentenced him to be diſfranchiſed, to be baniſhed the Juriſdiction, and to be taken into Cuſtody immediately, unleſs he would give Security to depart before the End of *March*. Mr. *Wheelwright* appealed from the Sentence of the Court to the King of *England*, but was told, an Appeal did not lie in his Caſe: He refuſed however, to give in Bail, and was therefore taken into Cuſtody of the Marſhal; but the next Day he was more ſubmiſſive, and relinquiſhed his Appeal, declaring himſelf willing to ſubmit to a ſimple Baniſhment; ſo the Court gave him Leave to go home, upon Promiſe, that if he departed not the Juriſdiction within 14 Days, he ſhould ſurrender himſelf Priſoner at the Houſe of Mr. *Stanton*, one of the Magiſtrates, and abide there 'till the Court ſhould diſpoſe of him. Mr. *Wheelwright* continued in Baniſhment about 7 Years, but then being grown wiſer, he renounced his Errors, begged Pardon

* Welde's *Riſe and Ruin of the* Antinomians, *p.* 28, 29.

of

of God and his Country, was reſtored to his People, and lived 30 or 40 Years afterwards an uſeful Miniſter of Chriſt in the Town of *Hampton*. Anno 1634

THE Court proceeded next to the Examination of the ſeveral *Petitioners* in Favour of Mr. *Wheelwright*, and the firſt who was ſent for was Mr. *John Coggeſhal*, * a Deacon of the Church of *Boſton*, and one of their late Deputies in Court; the Court charged him with *Contempt*, for ſaying, "If they expelled Mr. *Aſpin* for ſigning the Remonſtrance, they had better make but one "Work of all; for tho' his own Hand was not "to the Remonſtrance, yet his Heart was in "it." Mr. *Coggeſhal* pleaded his Privilege, as a Member of the Court; but was anſwered, That the Court knew no Liberty any of its Members had to reproach and affront their Proceedings in ſo publick a Manner; however, tho' he would not acknowledge his Offence, he behaved himſelf with more Modeſty and Reſpect than formerly, and was therefore only diſfranchiſed.

MR. *Aſpin*, another of the late *Boſton* Deputies was called next, who had not only ſigned the Remonſtrance, but was himſelf the *Author* of it, and had carried it about Town to get hands to it. He juſtified the Action, and by his haughty Carriage provok'd the Court not only to diſfranchiſe him, but to baniſh him the *Colony*. They gave him till the laſt of *March*, upon his giving Security for his quiet Departure by that time, which he immediately gave, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

AFTER theſe, *William Baulſton* and *Edward Hutchinſon*, two of the Serjeants of *Boſton* appeared. Both their Hands were to the Remon-

* Welde, &c. p. 29.

ſtrance,

Nov. 1637 ſtrance, and the Court took a great deal of Pains to make them acknowledge their Offence; but they continued obſtinate, and uttered a great many affronting Speeches againſt thoſe Magiſtrates who were not of their Opinion; ſo they were *both* turned out of their Places, disfranchiſed, and fined, *William Baulſton* 20 Pound, and *Edward Hutchinſon* 40; but *Hutchinſon* acknowledging his Fault next Day, was releaſed of his Fine, and only disfranchiſed.

ANOTHER Day four or five more of the leading Petitioners were ſent for, and not acknowledging their Fault were disfranchiſed, Capt. *John Underhill*, had his Commiſſion taken from him, and *Marſhal* the Ferry-man, loſt his Place. Many others whoſe Names were to the Remonſtrance were ſent for, but it appearing that moſt of them were drawn in by the ſubtilty of a few leading Men, and all of them acknowledging their Offence, and deſiring their Names might be blotted out, the Court pardoned them, upon promiſe of their good Behaviour for the time to come.

BUT Mrs. *Hutchinſon* having been at the Head of all theſe Diſturbances, * tho' ſhe had no hand in the Remonſtrance, the Court could not paſs her by, eſpecially conſidering that ſhe ſtill continued her Weekly Meetings. Upon her Appearance, ſhe was charged with being the Author of the late Diſturbances; with countenancing and encouraging Seditious Perſons; with reproaching all the Miniſters in the Country, and with maintaining weekly and publick Meetings in her Houſe, wherein ſhe had taught thoſe erroneous Doctrines, which had given occaſion to the late Tumults and Diſorders both in Church and Commonwealth. Mrs. *Hutchinſon* juſtified her whole

* *Ibid.* p. 25.

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Conduct, and inſtead of asking Pardon for her Offences, and promiſing to live peaceably for the future, made a long Harangue, full of bitter Reflections on the *Court* comparing her Caſe to the Prophet *Daniel's*, *when the Preſidents and Princes could find nothing againſt him, becauſe he was faithful, they ſought matter againſt him concerning the Law of his God to caſt him into the Lion's Den.* She then denounced Deſtruction upon them and their Poſterity, if they medled with her; *Take heed* (ſays ſhe) *how you proceed againſt me, for I know that for this you go about to do to me, God will ruin you, and your Poſterity, and this whole State* She was going on with her Predictions, when the Court commanded her to be ſilent, and ſeeing no hopes of her being reclaimed, ordered her to depart the Juriſdiction within ſix Months. Anno 1637

No ſooner was Mrs. *Hutchinſon* condemned by the Court, but the *Church* of *Boſton*, of which ſhe was a Member, charged her with Hereſy, in maintaining twenty ſix of the Errors condemned by the Synod; ſhe ſeem'd at firſt to deny the Charge, but a Cloud of Witneſſes being produced to ſupport it, ſhe ſubſcribed a Recantation, with this Proteſt, that *ſhe never had been really of any Opinion contrary to the Declaration ſhe had now made*; But the Witneſſes proving the contrary to her Face, her Recantation was rejected, and ſhe was excommunicated as a Notorious Lyar, with the full conſent of the whole Church.* There were about 8 or 9 more excommunicated out of the Churches of *Roxbury* and *Boſton* after the ſame manner, not ſo much for their Erroneous Opinions (ſays my Author) as for their Miſcarriages.

Mrs. *Hutchinſon*, being thus turned out into the wide World, went firſt with her Diſciples to

* *Ibid. in Prof.*

Anno 1637 *Rhode Iſland*, but not liking to ſtay there, ſhe removed with her Family into one of the *Dutch Plantations* called *Hebgate*, where, within a little while, the *Indians* murdered her and her whole Family, to the number of ſixteen Perſons. Several ſtrange Things are reported concerning this Mrs. *Hutchinſon*, and her Companion Mrs. *Dyer*, as that the former was deliver'd of a great many monſtrous Births at once; and the Latter was brought to Bed of ſuch an ill ſhapen thing as frighted and aſtoniſhed all the Spectators; which I forbear to relate, as being uncertain in themſelves, and of no weight, as to the Merits of the Cauſe.

WE may eaſily imagine that the Magiſtrates of the *Maſſachuſet Colony* would not have parted with ſo many uſeful Hands in the infancy of their State, if the publick Safety had not required it; but theſe Men were for turning the Government up ſide-down, and excluding the preſent ſet of *Magiſtrates*, not becauſe they were unqualified for their Offices, or unfaithful in the Diſcharge of them, but becauſe they were Men of a *legal Spirit*, and too much enclined to a *Covenant of Works*.

THE Heads of the Party being obliged to remove, conſulted with themſelves where to ſettle; and having heard of an *Iſland* beyond *Cape Cod*, near the *Narrhaganſet* Bay, they purchaſed it of the Natives, and ſettled themſelves and their Families in it, with as many others as were willing to attend them, in the Year 1639. The Iſland was called by the Natives *Aquetnet*, but by the *Engliſh*, *Rhode Iſland*. It lies in the *Narrhaganſet Bay*, being 14 or 15 Miles long and about 4 or 5 broad. 'Tis a fruitful Soil, and the Garden of *New England* for Pleaſure and Delight; the agreeableneſs of the Place invited over ſo many Planters, as overſet the Iſland in a few Years

Years and obliged ſome of them to ſwarm over to the Main Land, where they purchaſed a Tract of Land, now covered with the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, for all which they obtained a Charter of King *Charles* the Second with ample Privileges. * Dr. *Mather* repreſents them as a Generation of *Libertines*, *Familiſts*, *Antinomians*, and *Quakers*, whoſe Poſterity for want of Schools of Learning and a publick Miniſtry, are become ſo barbarous, as not to be capable of ſpeaking either good *Engliſh* or good Senſe; They have an extream Averſion to a regular Miniſtry, and would never till of late allow any ſuch to preach among them, tho' the *Maſſachuſet* Miniſters offer'd to do it without putting them to any Expence, but at preſent there is a Meeting houſe or two in the Iſland, which gives hopes of a further Reformation. *Anno* 1637

MR. *Lenthal*, Miniſter of *Weymouth*, had like to have undergone the ſame fate with his *Antinomian* Brethren, for he had not only declared openly for their *Doctrines*, but began to oppoſe the *New-England Diſcipline*; affirming that all that were baptiz'd had a Right to the Communion, without any further Trial; many of the People fell in with him, and would have erected a ſeparate Church upon that foot, but he was immediately ſent for up to *Boſton*, where he confeſſed his Errors, ſign'd a Retraction in open Court, and read it openly (by Order of the Government) in his Church at *Weymouth*; which was all the Puniſhment inflicted on him.

BUT of all the *Enthuſiaſts* that infeſted *New-England* at this Time, none was more impudent than Mr. *Samuel Gorton*, who was carrying on the ſame Deſign in the Colony of *Plimouth*, as *Wheel-*

* Mather *Book* 7. page 21.

Anno 1638 *wright*, and *Hutchinſon* had been doing in the *Maſſachuſets*; the Court at laſt order'd him to be apprehended upon the Complaint of one Mr. *Ralph Smith* whom he had cheated; *Gorton* being an obnoxious Man was not only fined for his Offence, but ordered to depart the Colony within 14 Days, and to find Sureties, for his good Behaviour in the mean Time; from *Plimouth* he went to his Aſſociates in *Rhode-Iſland* where he behaved himſelf with ſuch Inſolence towards the infant Government, that they ſentenced him to be whip'd and baniſhed the Iſland; the *Knight Errant* then went to Mr. *Williams* at Providence, and entred upon the Lands of ſome *Indians* in his Neighbourhood whereby he had liked to have drawn upon the *Engliſh* a new War, but Mr. *Williams* ſending to the *Maſſachuſets* for Help, they brought him and his Companions to *Boſton*, under a Guard of two or three Files of Muſqueteers, and after a fair hearing, they condemned him, and about ſix of his Diſciples to the Work-houſe for ſix Months, and after that to depart the Country.

THE Government of *Plimouth* did a very exemplary Piece of Juſtice about the ſame time upon three of their Subjects, who had murdered a *Narrhaganſet Indian*, in the Woods near *Providence*, the Fact was this; *Arthur Peach*, who had been a Soldier in the *Pequot* War, being returned home and not willing to ſettle himſelf to Work, reſolved to run away from his Maſter to the *Dutch* Plantation; he enticed three of his Acquaintance to go with him, who as they were Travelling thro' the Woods, met a *Narrhaganſet Indian*, and having taken a Pipe of *Tobacco* with him, *Peach* with the Conſent of his Companions, without any Provocation from the *Indian* run him thro' and left him for dead, but he made a ſhift to crawl home and tell his Story before he expir'd; the *Indians* purſu'd and overtook three of the Murderers

Murderers, and brought them to the *Engliſh* at *Aquetnet Iſland*, who deliver'd them up to the Governour of *Plimouth* as belonging to his Juriſdiction: When they were brought upon their Trial, the Evidence that came in againſt them was very full, and they themſelves did in Subſtance confeſs the Fact; ſo they were all three condemn'd and executed: Some of the People thought it very hard that three *Engliſh* Men ſhould dye for one *Indian*, but beſides the Juſtice of the Thing it ſelf, the Neceſſity of their Affairs requir'd it at this time, for the *Narrhaganſets* threatned them with a general Inſurrection, which by this Means was prevented. *Anno* 1638

Upon the Second of *June* there was a very great Earthquake, which came on gradually; at firſt there was no more than a rumbling Noiſe, like remote Thunder, but as the Noiſe came nearer, which was from North to South, the Earth ſhook with ſuch Violence that the People could not ſtand in the Streets, moſt of the Moveables in their Houſes were thrown down, and 'tis thought that if it had continued a little longer, the Houſes themſelves muſt have been demoliſhed. About half an hour after there was another Noiſe and Shaking, which revived the Peoples Fears, but it was neither ſo loud nor violent as the former.

This Year a College for the Education of Youth in all the liberal Arts and Sciences was erected at *New-Town*, about 6 or 8 Miles from *Boſton*, * which upon this Occaſion changed its Name for that of *Cambridge*; the General Court held at *Boſton*, *September* 8th 1630, had advanced about 400 Pounds towards ſuch a Deſign, but that not being ſufficient, and the low Circum- 1639

* *C.* Mather *Book* 4. *p.* 126.

Anno 1639 ſtances of their Affairs at that time not allowing them to advance a greater Sum, the Project ſlept, till the Death of the Rev. Mr. *John Harvard* lately come from *England*, who, by his laſt Will and Teſtament bequeath'd the Sum *of ſeven Hundred ſeventy nine Pounds ſeventeen Shillings and two Pence* towards the carrying on the Work: Upon his Deceaſe, a *Committee* was choſen to manage the Undertaking which now met with Encouragement from the other *Colonies*; and ſeveral private Gentlemen finding that there was a Probability of carrying it through, contributed large Sums of Money towards it. The College being built, was in Honour of their great Benefactor, called by the Name of HARVARD COLLEDGE. It was no better than a *Schola Illuſtris* for the firſt ten Years, but was then incorporated by a Charter bearing Date *May* 31, 1650. from the Government of the *Maſſachuſets* Colony; the Honourable *Thomas Dudley* Eſq; being then Governour.

IT conſiſts at preſent of a Preſident, five Fellows, and a Treaſurer; the *Governour of the Province*, the *Deputy Governour*, and all the *Magiſtrates* of the Colony, with the *Miniſters* of the ſix neighbouring Towns, for the Time being, being appointed as *Overſeers*; the Preſident's Sallary was at firſt paid out of the publick Treaſury, but the Profits of *Charles Town Ferry* being ſettled upon the College, and ſeveral Gentlemen both in Old and *New-England* contributing very largely towards the Revenues of it, it was quickly able to ſubſiſt of it ſelf.

SOME time after, another *College* was built near the former for the Education of the *Indians*, at the Charge of the Honourable Corporation for propagating the Goſpel in *New-England*, and was called the *Indian College*; but 'tis now converted into a Printing-Houſe, by the Direction of

of the ſaid *Corporation*; it being found impracticable to perſuade the *Indian* Youth to a Love of Learning. There is ſtill due Proviſion made for the Accommodation of ſuch *Indians*, as ſhall be admitted into the College, but there never were above four or five of them educated there; and but one, namely, *Caleb Cheeſchaumuck*, who took his Degrees in the Year 1665. For *Eleazar* the *Indian* Youth mention'd in Dr. *Mather*'s *Church Hiſtory* B. 3. *p.* 153, who ſhould have taken his Degrees in the Year 1679, died that Year before the Commencement came; and he was the laſt that was Educated in the College. * Anno 1639

HARVARD College being built, a Foundation was laid for a *Publick Library*, which was a Work of abſolute Neceſſity; Books being ſo ſcarce in the Country that it was impoſſible for the Students to purchaſe them; the firſt Furniture of this Library was the Books of Dr. *William Ames*, the famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franequer*, whoſe Widow and Children, after the Dr's. Death tranſported themſelves, and their Effects, into theſe Parts; ſeveral Gentlemen likewiſe in *England*, made very valuable Preſents to it, ſome of Books, and others of Mathematical Inſtruments; as Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *John Maynard*, the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop *Uſher*, the Rev. Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *Joſeph Hill*, and others; but the moſt conſiderable Acceſſion to this Library came by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, an Independent Miniſter in *London*, a learned Man, as appears by his Books *of the Court of the Gentiles*, who by his laſt Will and Teſtament, bequeath'd his large and valuable Collection of Books to the Library of *Harvard College* in *New-England*; ſince which time it has only received

* M. S. *Letter from Mr.* Thomas Brattle.

Anno 1639 ſome ſmall Additions, from private Hands, and yet before the End of the Century, it was encreaſed to between three and four Thouſand Volumes. So that tho' the *Cambridge* Library in *New-England*, muſt not pretend to rival the *Vatican* or *Bodleian*, or the Libraries of moſt of the Univerſities of *Europe*, yet it contains a Collection of the moſt valuable Authors, that have writ in the learned Languages, and is undoubtedly the beſt furniſhed of any in thoſe Parts of the World.

THE firſt Preſident of *Harvard Colledge* was Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton*, a learned Man; but cruel in his Nature, and lewd in his Morals; he hired two Men to hold one of his Pupils, 'till he had beat him almoſt to Death with a Cudgel, for which the General Court fined him 100 *Marks*, and expell'd him the Univerſity; he was afterwards excommunicated for Immorality, upon which he left the Plantation, went firſt to *Virginia*, and from thence to *England*, where he lived privately till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. and then conforming to the *Church* of *England*; he was preferr'd to the Parſonage of *Biddiford* in *Devonſhire*, and became a violent Perſecutor of the Diſſenters, 'till at laſt by his wicked and extravagant Courſes, he brought himſelf to Miſery, and died in Goal for Debt.

HIS Succeſſors to the end of the Century were,

Mr. *Henry Dunſtar*, elected	1640
Mr. *Charles Chauncey*	1654
Dr. *Leonard Hoar*,	1671
Mr. *Urian Oakes*	1675
Mr. *John Rogers*,	1682
Dr. *Increaſe Mather*,	1684

THE Preſident's Province, beſides the general Government of the whole Colledge is to examine

mine into the Qualifications of all who deſire to be admitted into the Colledge to inſpect their Manners; to pray, and expound a Chapter Morning and Evening, which one of the Students reads out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* in the Morning, and out of *Engliſh* into *Greek* from the *New-Teſtament* in the Evening; to confer all Degrees, and to preach ſometimes on the Lord's Days. Anno 1639

THE *Fellows* that reſide in the College are Tutors to the ſeveral Claſſes of Students, and lead them through the liberal Arts and Sciences in 4 Years, in which Time they have their weekly Declamations, and publick Diſputations, the *Preſident*, or one of the *Fellows* being always Moderator; the *Students* are divided into 4 Claſſes, the *Junior Claſs* are called *freſh Men* the firſt Year, and are a kind of Servitors to the whole College out of ſtudying Hours, to go of Errands, *&c.* from which none are exempted, unleſs they are admitted *Fellow-Commoners*, of which Number (as I am informed) was Sir *Harcourt Maſters*, one of the preſent Aldermen of the City of *London*: The ſecond Year they wear the Title of *Sophimores*: The third of *Junior Sophiſters*, and the fourth of *Senior Sophiſters*, when they are admitted to the Degree of *Batchelor of Arts*. Thoſe who reſide in the College after they commence *Batchelors*, are diſtinguiſhed for the next 3 Years by the Title of *Sir* added to their Sirnames 'till they go out *Maſters of Art*, as, *Sir Chauncey*, *Sir Rogers*, *Sir Oakes*.

WHEN a *Student* is admitted into the College, he is required to ſubſcribe the College-Laws, and to keep a Copy of them in his Chamber; when he ſtands for his Degree, he is to attend in the Hall on certain Hours every *Monday* and *Tueſday* during the 3 Weeks of *Viſitation*, that all that have a Mind may examine into his Skill in

thoſe

Anno 1639 thoſe Languages and Sciences, that he pretends to be Maſter of, this is called the *Sitting of Solſtices*, and is in the Month of *June*; upon the Day of Commencement, which was formerly the 2d of *Auguſt*, but now the firſt *Wedneſday* in *July*, a publick Act is held in the *College-Hall*, to which moſt of the neighbouring Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Gentlemen are invited; the *Preſident* opens it with a ſhort Oration; then one of the Candidates pronounces an Oration, either in *Latin*, *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, wherein all Perſons of Rank or Quality preſent, are addreſſed with proper Compliments, and Reflections are made on the moſt remarkable Occurrences of the laſt Year; but the chief Exerciſes are Diſputations on Theſes, or Queſtions in *Logic*, *Ethics*, *natural Philoſophy*, and moſt of the liberal Arts, which the *Defendant* publiſhes before-hand in a Sheet of Paper, and obliged himſelf to anſwer all Objections brought againſt them; when this is over, the Preſident gives him his *Degree*, with the Ceremony of putting a Book into his Hands, and pronouncing theſe Words over him; for a *Batchelor*; *Admitto te ad primum gradum in Artibus, ſcilicet ad reſpondendum Quæſtioni pro more Academiarum in Anglia, tibiq; trado hunc librum una cum poteſtate publice præligendi in aliqua Artium quam profiteris quotieſcunq; ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.* For a *Maſter of Arts*, which is not uſually conferr'd upon any, but thoſe who are of 7 Years ſtanding in the College; *Admitto te ad ſecundum gradum in Artibus, pro more Academiarum in Anglia, Tradoq; tibi hunc librum una cum poteſtate profitendi; ubicunq; ad hoc munus publicè evocatur fueris.* After which, the Aſſembly is diſmiſſed with a Valedictory Oration pronounced by one of the *Graduates*.

THE Univerſity of *New-England* never conferr'd any Degree above *Maſter of Arts* upon any of

of its Members as long as the Old Charter was in Force, but by the New one granted them by K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, they have obtained a Power of creating *Doctors in Divinity*; tho' they have not thought fit to make Uſe of it, except in the Caſe of their late Preſident, Mr. *Increaſe Mather*. Anno 1640

SEVERAL uſeful Perſons both in the Church and in the State have been educated in this College; Sir *George Downing*, employ'd firſt by the *Parliament*, and afterwards by K. *Charles* the Second, as his Envoy Extraordinary in *Holland*, was the ſecond Perſon that was enter'd a Student in the College; Sir *Henry Mildmay* ſent his Son *William Mildmay*, Eſq; the Elder Brother of *Henry Mildmay*, Eſq; of *Shawford* in *Hampſhire*, to ſtudy here. *William Stoughton*, Eſq; *Joſeph Dudley*, Eſq; and many other Gentlemen of principal Note in this Hiſtory, owe their Education to this Seminary.

OF the Clergy, there were ſeveral that made a conſiderable Figure in *England*, under the *Parliament*, and among the *Diſſenters* in the Reigns of K. *Charles* II. and K. *James* II. as Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge* of *Newbury*, Mr. *Samuel* and *Nathaniel Mather*, Mr. *Iſaac Chauncey*, beſides the whole Body of the preſent Clergy of *New-England*, among whom there are ſome of as good Learning and Senſe as in any Parts of *Europe*.

BUT to make the College as compleat as poſſible, when the Building was finiſhed, and Apartments for the Students fitted up, they ſet up a *Printing-Preſs*, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the diſperſing *ſmall* practical Treatiſes up and down the Country; for it can't be imagin'd, that they could carry off an Edition of any very conſiderable Work while the *Colony* was ſo ſmall, and there were ſo few Men of Letters in it. One of the firſt *Books* printed was, *A new Verſion of Da-*

Anno 1640 *David's Pſalms*; the Miniſters, it ſeems, were not ſatisfied with *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, not ſo much on the Account of their *Poetry*, as becauſe they had perverted the Text in a great many Places; they reſolved therefore on a *New Verſion*, and committed the Care of it to ſome of the chief Divines in the Country, among whom were the Reverend Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, Mr. *Mather* of *Dorcheſter*, and Mr. *Welds*; who having compared their ſeveral *Performances* together, printed the whole at *Cambridge* in the Year 1640: When the *Book* was publiſhed, it did not ſatisfy the Expectations of judicious Men, for being compos'd by Perſons of a different *Genius* and *Capacity*, it was far from being of a Piece; and was therefore after ſome Time committed to *One Hand*, to be corrected, and made a little more uniform; Mr. *Henry Dunſtar* Preſident of the College, was the Man choſen to this Work, who with the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Richard Lyon*, Tutor to Sir *Henry Mildmay*'s Son, then boarding in his Houſe, reduced it to the Form in which it appears at preſent; but after all, if we compare the *New-England Verſion of the Pſalms* with thoſe that have ſince been publiſhed to the World, it muſt be acknowledged to be but a mean Performance; it keeps pretty cloſe indeed to the *Engliſh Proſe*, but has very little Beauty or Elegance in it, the Lines being frequently *eke't out*, with a great many inſignificant Particles for the Sake of the Rhime; and 'tis but a weak Apology, that the *Tranſlators* offer for themſelves, when they ſay, *That we muſt conſider, that God's Altar needs not our Poliſhings*: As if it were more eligible to ſing the Praiſes of God in barbarous Verſe, than in more exact and elegant Compoſures, ſo that how commendable ſoever this Performance might be in the Time when it firſt appeared,

peared, I think, with the Leave of the learned Men of that Country, it wants now to be reviſed and corrected by the more beautiful *Verſions* of Dr. *Patrick*, *Tate* and *Brady*: And I heartily wiſh, that ſome judicious Perſon among them would attempt it. Anno 1640.

ABOUT this Time the Inhabitants of *Lyn* being ſtraitned for Room, went over into *Long-Iſland*, and having agreed with the Lord *Starling*'s Agent, and with the *Indian* Proprietors, they began a Settlement at the *Weſt* End of it, but the *Dutch* giving them a great deal of Diſturbance, they deſerted their Plantation in thoſe Parts, and ſettled to the Number of an Hundred Families, at the *Eaſt* End of the Iſland, where they built the Town of *Southampton*, and by the Advice of the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* erected themſelves into a Civil Government.

LONG-ISLAND is a noble Spot of Ground, of about an hundred and ſixty Miles in Length, and twelve in Breadth; off the *Eaſt* Coaſt lye ſeveral Deſart-Iſlands, and at the *Weſt* End lies *Staten-Iſland* 10 Miles long, and 5 or 6 broad; when the *Dutch* were in Poſſeſſion of *Long-Iſland*, they made Earthen Ware there as good or better than that at *Delft*, but when it fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, with the reſt of *New-York*, that Trade was loſt; and the *Engliſh* Inhabitants deal chiefly in *Furrs*, *Skins*, *Tobacco*, and *all ſorts of Grain*. There is a Plain towards the middle of the Iſland 16 Miles long, and 4 broad, which yields very fine Graſs; the Government of this Iſland is annexed to *New-York*; 'tis divided into 3 Counties, *Queen's*, *Suffolk*, and *Richmond* Counties; there are two Churches in *Queen's* County, one at *Jamaica*, a Town of about 40 Houſes, whoſe Miniſter has 50*l.* a Year and 15*l.* for Books; and another at

Hemp-

Anno 1641. *Hempſtead*, whoſe Miniſter has the ſame Income from *England* raiſed by the Society for propagating the Goſpel, and each of them have 60 *l.* a Year from *New-York*; In *Suffolk* County there is no Church of *England*, the Inhabitants being chiefly *Independents* and *Quakers*, but *Richmond* Town and County has an Allowance of 40 *l.* a Year for a Miniſter. *

THE *Indians* were now very quiet, and the great † *Sachem Wooſamequen*, alias *Maſſaſoiet*, and *Mooanam* his Son; came to *New Plimouth*, *September* 25, in their own proper Perſons, and deſired, that the ancient League and Confederacy made with the Government of *New Plimouth* might be confirm'd, and the ſaid *Wooſamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son did for themſelves and their Succeſſors promiſe to obſerve the following Articles, namely, "That they would not needleſly raiſe any Quarrels, or do any Wrong to other Nations, ſo as to provoke them to War; and that they would not give, ſell, or convey any of their Lands, Territories, or Poſſeſſions whatſoever to any Perſon, or Perſons, without the Privity and Conſent of the Governour of *Plimouth*, other than to ſuch as the ſaid Governour ſhall ſend or appoint." Theſe Conditions, together with an Acknowledgment of their Subjection to the King of *England*, the ſaid *Wooſamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son for themſelves, and their Succeſſors, did then faithfully promiſe to obſerve, and keep. And the whole Court, in the Name of the Government, and for each Town reſpectively, did then likewiſe ratifie and confirm the aforeſaid ancient League and Confederacy, promiſing to the ſaid

* Atlas Geograph. *V.* 5. *p.* 735.

† New-England *Memorial*, p. 102.

Woo-

Wooſamequen and his Son, and their Succeſſors, *That they ſhall, and will from Time to Time, defend the ſaid* Wooſamequen *and* Mooanam *his Son, and their Succeſſors, when Need and Occaſion ſhall require, againſt all ſuch as ſhall unjuſtly riſe up againſt them, to wrong or oppreſs them unjuſtly.* Anno 1641

THE Civil War which broke out in *England* this Year between the King and Parliament put a full ſtop to the further increaſe of the Colonies of *New-England*, for the *Star Chamber* and the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion Court* being put down, and the *Epiſcopal* Power eclips'd, the *Puritans* were made eaſy at home, and thought no more of tranſporting themſelves into foreign Parts. But certainly never was Country more obliged to a Man, than *New-England* was to Archbiſhop *Laud*, who by his Cruel and Arbitrary Proceedings drove Thouſands of Families out of the Kingdom, and thereby ſtock'd the Plantations with Inhabitants, in the Compaſs of a very few Years, which otherwiſe could not have been done in an Age. This was the Senſe of ſome of the greateſt Men in Parliament; Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* in one of his Speeches in the Year 1641 has this Paſſage. "*A great Multitude of the Kings* "*Subjects ſtriving to hold Communion with us, but* "*ſeeing how far we were gone, and fearing how* "*much further we would go, were forced to fly the* "*Land, very many into ſavage Wilderneſſes, becauſe* "*the Land would not bear them: Do not they that* "*cauſe theſe Things caſt a Reproach upon the Govern-*"*ment?*" Mr. *Fiennes*, in a Speech made in the lower Houſe, upon the ſame Occaſion, ſays, that "*A certain number of Ceremonies in the Judgment* "*of ſome Men unlawful, and to be rejected of all* "*Churches; In the Judgment of all other Churches,* "*and in the Judgment of our own Church but indif-*"*ferent, yet what Difference, yea what Diſtraction* "*have theſe indifferent Ceremonies raiſed among us;*

"*What*

1641 "*What has deprived us of ſo many thouſands of* "*Chriſtians, who deſired, and in all other Reſpects* "*deſerved to hold Communion with us I ſay, what* "*has deprived us of them, and ſcattered them into* "*I know not what places and corners of the World,* "*but theſe indifferent Ceremonies?*" My Ld. *Digby*, a Gentleman who afterwards ſuffered deeply in the Royal Cauſe, complains in one of his Speeches in Parliament, "*That Men of the beſt* "*Conſcience were then ready to fly into the Wilderneſs* "*for Religion.*" Mr. *Pym* in his Speech at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, when he carried up the Commons Impeachment of the *Archbiſhop*, has theſe Expreſſions, "*You have the King's loyal* "*Subjects baniſhed out of the Kingdom, not as* Eli- "melech, *to ſeek for Bread in foreign Countries, by* "*reaſon of the great Scarcity that was in* Iſrael, *but* "*travelling abroad for the Bread of Life, becauſe* "*they could not have it at home, by reaſon of the ſpi-* "*ritual Famine of God's Word, cauſed by this Man* "*and his Partakers: And by this means you have* "*the Induſtry of many thouſands of his Majeſty's* "*Subjects carried out of the Land.*" And at laſt, the whole Houſe of Commons agreed to inſert this Article in their Remonſtrance to the King, "*The Biſhops and their Courts did impoveriſh many* "*thouſands, and ſo afflict and trouble others, that* "*great Numbers, to avoid their Miſeries, departed* "*out of the Kingdom, ſome into* New-England, "*and other parts of* America." This was really the Caſe, and tho' it muſt be allowed, that when the *Puritans* were in Power they carried their Reſentments too far, yet Archbiſhop *Laud* and the reſt of the Court-Biſhops can never be cleared from being the principal Authors of the Civil War, which involv'd both Church and State in Confuſion, and drew ſuch a Train of Calamities after it, as waſted the beſt Blood and Treaſure in the Kingdom, and at laſt, brought the unhappy

happy King himſelf to the Block. But the Scene of Affairs being now changed, in Favour of the *Puritans*, and the Plantations left to ſhift for themſelves, I will ſet before the Reader in one View, a general Computation of the Numbers of People, both Miniſters and others, who were driven out of their native Country, chiefly on the Account of Religion during the Adminiſtration of Archbiſhop *Laud*; with an Eſtimate of the Charges of the ſeveral Settlements. *Anno* 1641

THE Number of *Planters* that arrived at *New-England* before the Year 1640. * are computed at about 4000, who diſpers'd themſelves up and down the Country, and laid the Foundations of the ſeveral Towns and Villages in it. † Their Paſſage with their Moveables coſt at leaſt 95000 *l.*

THE Tranſportation of their Cattle great and ſmall, 12000 *l.*, beſides the Price of the Cattle themſelves.

THE Proviſions which they carried over for Subſiſtence 'till they could have a Harveſt in the Country, 45000 *l.*

THE Materials for their firſt Cottages, *&c.* 18000 *l.*

THE Arms, Ammunition, and great Artillery which they brought over with them, 22000 *l.*

IN all, 192000 *l.*

BESIDES the large Sums of Money which the Adventurers laid out in Wares to merchandiſe with the *Indians*, and the Value of Effects that particular Perſons and Families carried over with

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* C. Mather, *Book* 1. page 17, 23.

† *Mr.* Joſſelyn's *Computation is very extravagant, who ſays, the Number of Men, Women, and Children tranſported to* New-England, *were according to the neareſt Computation* 21200; *and yet the Number of Tranſports but* 298. *Voyage to* New-England, p. 258.

Anno 1641 them, which was very conſiderable; about 200 Tranſports were employ'd, at ſeveral Times, in this Undertaking, of which one only was loſt. Upon the whole, we may venture to ſay, that the 4 grand Settlements of *New-England*, beſides the Loſs of ſo many Inhabitants, coſt the Kingdom of *England* no leſs than 4 or 500,000 *l* a vaſt Sum of Money at that Time of Day; but if the Perſecution of the *Puritans* had continued 10 or 12 Years longer, I am apt to think, that a fourth Part of the Riches of the Kingdom would have been carried out of it.

SOME of the firſt Planters were Gentlemen of conſiderable Fortunes, who ſpent their Eſtates in the Country; and were at the Charge of bringing over ſeveral poor Families, who were not able of themſelves to bear the Expence: Such were *William Bradford*, Eſq; *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; *John Winthrop*, Eſq; *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; *Simon Bradſtreet*, Eſq; and a great many others, who at ſeveral Times were Governours of the reſpective Provinces to which they belong'd.

BUT the chief Leaders of the People into *New-England* were the *Puritan Miniſters*, who being ſilenced at home, went thither for the Liberty of their Conſciences, and drew vaſt Numbers of their Friends and Favourers after them, I'll ſet before the Reader, a Liſt of their Names in the following TABLE.

A LIST

Anno 1641

A LIST of the NAMES of ſuch *Puritan Miniſters*, who were in Orders in the Church of *England*, but being diſturbed by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for the Cauſe of *Nonconformity*, tranſported themſelves to *New-England*, for the free Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, before the Year 1641; together with the Names of the Places where they ſettled.

The Rev. Mr.

Tho. Allen, at *Charles-Town*,
John Allen, at *Dedham*,
—— *Avery*, at *Marblehead*,
Adam Blackman, at *Stratford*,
Richard Blinman, at *Gloceſter*,
—— *Brucy*, at *Brainford*,
Edmund Brown, at *Sudbury*,
Peter Bulkeley, at *Concord*,
Jonathan Burr, at *Dorcheſter*,
Charles Chauncey, at *Scituate*,
Thomas Cobbett, at *Lynne*,
John Cotton, at *Boſton*,
Tim. Dalton, at *Hampton*,
John Davenport, at *Newhaven*,
Richard Denton, at *Stamford*,
Henry Dunſtar, at *Cambridge*,
Samuel Eaton, at *Newhaven*,
John Eliot, at *Roxbury*,
John Fiſk, at *Chelmsford*,
Henry Flint, at *Braintree*,
—— *Fordham*, at *Southampton*,
—— *Green*, at *Reading*,
John Harvard, at *Charles-Town*,
Francis Higginſon, at *Salem*,
William Hook, at *Newhaven*,
Thomas Hooker, at *Hartford*,

Anno 1641

Peter Hobart, at *Hingham*,
Ephr. Huet, at *Windſor*,
—— *Hull*, at *Iſle* of *Sholes*,
—— *James*, at *Charles-Town*,
—— *Jones*, at *Fairfield*,
—— *Knight*, at *Topsfield*,
John —— *Knowles*, at *Water-Town*,
—— *Leverick*, at *Sandwich*,
John Lothrop, at *Barnſtable*,
Richard Mather, at *Dorcheſter*,
—— *Maud*, at *Dover*,
—— *Maverick*, at *Dorcheſter*,
John Mayo, at *Boſton*,
John Millar, at *Yarmouth*,
— *Moxen*, at *Springfield*,
Samuel Newman, at *Rehoboth*,
—— *Norris*, at *Salem*,
John Norton, at *Boſton*,
James Noyſe, at *Newbury*,
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Parker*, at *Newbury*,
Ralph Partridge, at *Duxbury*,
—— *Peck*, at *Hingham*,
Hugh Peters, at *Salem*,
Thomas Peters, at *Say-Brook*,
George Philips, at *Water-Town*,
—— *Philips*, at *Dedham*,
Abraham Pierſon, at *Southampton*,
Peter Prudden, at *Milford*,
—— *Reyner*, at *Plimouth*,
Ezek. Rogers, at *Rowly*,
Nathaniel Rogers, at *Ipſwich*,
—— *Saxton*, at *Scituate*,
Thomas Shepherd, at *Cambridge*,
Zach. Symmes, at *Charles-Town*,
—— *Skelton*, at *Salem*,
Ralph Smith, at *Plimouth*,
—— *Smith*, at *Weathersfield*,
Samuel Stone, at *Hartford*,
Nicholas Street, at *Newhaven*,

William

The Rev. Mr.
- *William Thompſon*, at *Braintree*, Anno 1641
- —— *Waltham*, at *Marblehead*,
- *Nathaniel Ward*, at *Ipſwich*,
- *John Warham*, at *Windſor*,
- —— *Weld*, at *Roxbury*,
- —— *Wheelwright*, at *Salisbury*,
- *Henry Whitfield*, at *Guilford*,
- *Samuel Whiting*, at *Lyn*,
- *John Wilſon*, at *Boſton*,
- —— *Witherel*, at *Scituate*,
- *William Worceſter*, at *Salisbury*,
- —— *Young*, at *Southold*,

In all 77.

BESIDES theſe, there were about 20 that had no Settlements in the Country, or were turn'd out of 'em again, ſome for their Immoralities, and others, becauſe they would not comply with the receiv'd Opinions of the Country, among theſe were ſeveral *Epiſcopalians*, and *Anabaptiſts*, as Mr. *Miles* of *Swanſey*, and good old *Hanſerd Knowles* of *Dover*, who returning to *England*, ſuffer'd deeply in the Cauſe of *Nonconformity* under K. *Charles* II. being univerſally eſteem'd, and belov'd by all his Brethren.

I will not ſay, that all the *Miniſters* menti-on'd in the *Table* were Men of the firſt Rate for Learning, but I can aſſure the Reader, they had a better Share of it than moſt of their neighbouring Clergy at that Time; they were Men of great Sobriety and Virtue, plain, ſerious, affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and took a great deal of Pains to promote a *Reformation of Manners* in their ſeveral Pariſhes; I know the World has called them *weak Brethren*, as we all do thoſe who differ from us; But, who were guilty of the greateſt Weakneſſes, let all unprejudiced Perſons judge? Their Adverſaries, who

Anno 1641 ſuſpended, deprived, and in Effect forc'd them out of the Kingdom, for a few Rites and Ceremonies, which, by their own Confeſſion were indifferent, and not eſſential to Chriſtianity; or they, who after their beſt Enquiries, thought in their Conſciences, that a Compliance with them would be ſinful.

WITH theſe came over ſeveral young Students in Divinity, whoſe Education for the Miniſtry not being finiſhed in *England*, was perfected in this Country; ſome of whom afterwards made a conſiderable Figure in both *Englands*; as,

Mr. *Samuel Arnold*, of *Marſhfield*,
Mr. *John Biſhop*, of *Stamford*,
Mr. *Edward Bulkly*, of *Concord*,
Mr. ——— *Carter*, of *Woburne*,
Mr. *Francis Dean*, of *Andover*,
Mr. *James Fitch*, of *Norwich*,
Mr. ——— *Hunford*, of *Norwalk*,
Mr. *John Higginſon*, of *Salem*,
Mr. —— *Hough*, of *Reading*,
Mr. —— *James*, of *Eaſthampton*,
Mr. *Roger Newton*, of *Milford*,
Mr. *John Sherman*, of *Water-Town*.
Mr. *Thomas Thacher*, of *Boſton*,
Mr. ——— *Woodbridge*, of *Newbury*.

SOME of the Gentlemen abovementioned returned to *England* in the Time of the Civil War, and ſerv'd the Parliament, as, *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; who was one of the Commiſſioners of the Navy; *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; who was one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; *George Downing*, afterwards Sir *George Downing*, and ſome few others. About 10 or 12 of the Miniſters alſo return'd, among whom was Mr. *William Hook*, of *Newhaven*, who was made Maſter of the

the *Savoy*; Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, Mr. *Blinman*, Mr. *John Knowles*, Mr. *Sam. Eaton*, Mr. *Saxton*, Mr. *Giles Firmin*, Mr. *Thomas Allen*, Mr. *Henry Whitfield*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and the famous Mr. *Hugh Peters*, who made a great Figure under the Protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell*, but medling too much in State-Affairs, was excepted out of the General Pardon, and executed with the King's Judges in the Year 1660. So that the *New-England* Colonies, inſtead of having any Acceſſion from *England*, manifeſtly decreaſed for the next 20 Years, 'till the Perſecution of the Diſſenters in the Reign of King *Charles* II. turn'd the Tide again. Anno 1642

THE Diligence and Induſtry of the firſt Planters in bringing their Affairs to ſuch a Conſiſtency in ſo ſhort a Time is very remarkable, for they had already planted fifty Towns and Villages, built thirty or forty Churches, and more Miniſters Houſes; a Caſtle, a College, Priſons, Forts, Cart-ways, Cauſways, and all this at their own Charge, without any publick Aſſiſtance; the Planters had built themſelves comfortable Houſes, they had Gardens, Orchards, Grounds fenced in, Corn-Fields, *&c.* and Laws for the Government of the whole Plantation.

THE Continent of *New-England* being now pretty well ſtock'd with Inhabitants, it was Time to think of taking Poſſeſſion of the Iſlands upon the Coaſt. The Worſhipful Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* therefore having obtain'd a Grant of *Martha's Vineyard*, *Nantucket*, and *Elizabeth Iſles*, ſettled his Son in the former of theſe with a ſmall Number of Planters this Summer; who being a young Man of good Learning and Piety, after ſome Time became their Miniſter, and was very ſerviceable in the Converſion of the *Indians*, as the Reader will ſee in its proper Place. After Mr. *Mayhew's* untimely Death, his Father viſited the Iſland,

Anno 1642. Iſland, and tho' he was no *Miniſter*, he perſuaded the *Indians* of the *Gayhead* to ſuffer themſelves to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion. Upon the Father's Death, his Grandſon who was bred a Miniſter, ſucceeded him in this good Work, whoſe Labours have been ſo wonderfully bleſs'd, that Dr. *Mather* ſays the Number of Adult *Indians* who have embraced the Chriſtian Religion upon the Iſlands of *Martha's Vineyard*,* and *Nantuket*, are no leſs than three Thouſand.

ABOUT the latter End of the laſt Year, one Mr. *Bennet* a Gentlemen from *Virginia* arrived at *Boſton*, with Letters from ſome of the People to the Miniſters of *New-England*, bewailing their want of a Goſpel Miniſtry, and entreating a ſupply of Miniſters from hence. After due Conſultation, it was agreed that the Churches of *Water-Town*, *Braintree*, and *Rowly* having each two Miniſters, ſhould ſend one upon the intended Service, but Mr. *Miller* of *Rowly* being an infirm Man, was excuſed, and Mr. *James* of *Newhaven* went in his room, with Mr. *Hanſer Knowles* of *Water Town*, and Mr. *Thompſon* of *Braintree*: They began their Voyage, *October* 7, 1642. with Letters recommendatory from the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets* to the Governour and Council of *Virginia*, but thro' Streſs of Weather, and contrary Winds they were eleven Weeks in their Paſſage; upon their Arrival they began to preach in ſeveral Parts of the Country, and the People flock'd to hear them; but the Governour was ſo far from giving them Encouragement, that he paſs'd an Order, *That all ſuch as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, ſhould depart the Country by ſuch a Day.* Whereby the Miniſters were obliged to return home; but be-

* Mather, *B. 6. p. 54.*

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fore the Time fix'd for their Departure, the *Indians* having entred into a Confederacy againſt the *Engliſh* roſe up in Arms, and maſſacred above three Hundred of the poor Inhabitants, but Mr. *Knowles* and his Brethren got ſafe to *New-England*. Anno 1643

THE ſame bloody Deſign was carrying on by the *Indians* of *New-England* at this time, but their own private Quarrels and Diviſions hinder'd their putting it in Execution, for the *Narrhaganſets* having had Time to reflect upon their late Conduct towards the *Pequots*, * whoſe Nation was deſtroyed, and their whole Territories ſeized by the *Engliſh*, and not being ſatisfy'd with the Diviſion of Plunder that fell to their ſhare, they began to expreſs their diſlike of the *Engliſh*, and to concert proper Meaſures with their Neighbours to ſhake off the Yoke, and put it out of their Power to preſcribe to them for the future; but ſuch was the Unhappineſs of this miſerable People, that they always ſuffer'd their private Revenge to take Place of the publick Good. *Miantonimo* King of the *Narrhaganſets* upon a private Diſguſt againſt *Uncas* King of the *Mohawks*, hired a Villian privately to murder him, but the *Aſſaſſin* failing in his Attempt, *Miantonimo* cut off his Head and declared open War againſt *Uncas*, by invading his Territories with a powerful Army. *Uncas*, took the Field with all the Forces he could muſter, which were not half ſo many as *Miantonimo's*, and had the good Fortune to take him Priſoner in Battle, and cut off his Head. The *Narrhaganſets* enraged at the Death of their Prince, reſolved to puſh on the War 'till they had deſtroy'd *Uncas* and his Nation. *Uncas* hereupon fled to the *Engliſh*, who pro-

* Dr. Increaſe Mather, *New-England Troubles*, p. 56.

mis'd

Ann. 1643 mis'd to ſupport him effectually againſt his Enemies; † when the *Narrhaganſets* heard this, they were ſtruck with ſuch a Pannick Fear of undergoing the ſame Fate with the *Pequots*, that they immediately laid down their Arms, ſent Meſſengers, to *Boſton*, and beg'd a Peace; which was granted them upon Condition of their defraying the Charges of the War, and delivering up the Son's of their new *Sachem*, as Hoſtages for the Performance of it: They promis'd all, but when they return'd home, took no further Care of the Matter, 'till Capt. *Atherton*, with a ſmall Party of *Engliſh* made an inroad into their Country, and entring the *Wigwam* or Palace of the old Nyantick Sachem *Ninigret*, took him by the Hair of the Head, and clapping a Piſtol to his Breaſt, told him he was a dead Man, if he did not immediately deliver up the Hoſtages, and give Orders for the Payment of the Money. *Ninigret* had his Servants, and Guard about him, but the boldneſs of the Action, ſurpriz'd them to ſuch a Degree, that not one of them durſt lift up a Hand in their Maſter's Defence, which oblig'd the *Sachem* to comply with the Captain's Demands.

BUT tho' the Meaſures of the *Indians* were thus broken by their Diviſions at preſent, it was to be fear'd that they would grow wiſer in Time, and ſometime or other fall upon ſome of the Colonies with their united Strength; the *Maſſachuſets* therefore to provide againſt ſuch an Accident, ſent Meſſengers to the three Colonies of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, and *Newhaven*, to inform them of the Plottings, and Menaces of the *Narrhaganſets*, and to argue from thence the Neceſſity of their entring into a Confederate Union with one ano-

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† *Ibid.* p. 59.

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ther after the Manner of the Provinces of *Holland*, for their mutual Security; the Motion was no ſooner made, but each Province immediately embrac'd it, and an Inſtrument was drawn up in the following Words. *Anno* 1643

ARTICLES *of Confederation betwixt the Plantations under the Government of the* Maſſachuſets; *the Plantations under the Government of* Plimouth, *the Plantations under the Government of* Connecticut, *and the Government of* Newhaven, *with the Plantations in Combination therewith.**

Art. I. "IT is fully agreed and concluded by "and between the Parties or Juriſ- "dictions above named, and they do jointly and "ſeverally by theſe Preſents agree and conclude "that they all be, and henceforth be called by "the name of the *United Colonies of New-Eng-* "*land.*

Art. II. "THE ſaid United Colonies for "themſelves and their Poſterity, do jointly and "ſeverally, hereby enter into a firm and perpe- "tual League of Friendſhip and Amity for Of- "fence and Defence, mutual Advice and Suc- "cour, upon all juſt Occaſions, both for preſer- "ving and propagating the Truth and Liberties "of the Goſpel, and for their own mutual "Safety and Welfare.

Art. III. "IT is further agreed that the Plan- "tations which at preſent are, or hereafter ſhall "be ſettled within the Limits of the *Maſſachu-* "*ſets*, ſhall be for ever under the Government

* Newhaven's *ſettling in* New-England. *London* 1656, p. 2.

"of

Anno 1643 " of the *Maſſachuſets*; and ſhall have peculiar " Juriſdiction among themſelves as an entire " Body. And that *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, and " *Newhaven*, ſhall each of them in all Reſpects " have the like peculiar Juriſdiction and Go- " vernment within their Limits, and in Refe- " rence to the Plantations, which already are " ſettled, or ſhall hereafter be erected, and ſhall " ſettle within any of their Limits reſpectively, " provided that no other Juriſdiction ſhall here- " after be taken in, as a diſtinct Head or Mem- " ber of this Confederation; nor ſhall any other " either Plantation or Juriſdiction, in preſent be- " ing, and not already in Combination, or under " the Juriſdiction of any of theſe Confederates be " received by any of them; nor ſhall any two of " theſe Confederates join in one Juriſdiction " without Conſent of the Reſt, which Conſent " to be interpreted as in the ſixth enſuing Ar- " ticle is expreſs'd.

IV. " It is alſo by theſe *Confederates* agreed, " that the Charge of all juſt Wars, whether of- " fenſive or defenſive, on what Part or Member " of this Confederation ſoever they fall, ſhall both " in Men, Proviſions, and all other Disburſe- " ments be born by all the Parts of this Confe- " deration, in different Proportions according to " their different Abilities in manner following, " namely, that the Commiſſioners for each Juriſ- " diction from time to time, as there ſhall be Oc- " caſion, bring a true Account and Number of all " the Males in each Plantation, or any ways " belonging to, or under their ſeveral Juriſdic- " tions of what Quality or Condition ſoever they " be, from ſixteen Years old to ſixty being Inha- " bitants there. And that according to the dif- " ferent Number, which from time to time ſhall " be found in each Juriſdiction upon a true and " juſt Account; the ſervice of Men and all

" Charges

" Charges of the War be born by the Poll: Anno
" Each Juriſdiction or Plantation, being left to 1643.
" their own juſt Courſe and Cuſtom of rating
" themſelves and People, according to their dif-
" ferent Eſtates, with due Reſpects to their
" Qualities and Exemptions amongſt themſelves,
" tho' the *Confederation* take no Notice of any
" ſuch Privilege. And that according to the
" different Charge of each Juriſdiction, and Plan-
" tation, the whole Advantage of the War, (if it
" pleaſe God ſo to bleſs their Endeavours)
" whether it be in Lands, Goods, or Perſons,
" ſhall be proportionably divided among the
" ſaid Confederates.

V. " IT is further agreed, that if any of
" theſe *Juriſdictions*, or any *Plantations* under, or
" in Combination with them, be invaded by
" any Enemy whomſoever, upon Notice and Re-
" queſt of any three Magiſtrates of that Juriſ-
" diction ſo invaded; the reſt of the Confede-
" rates without any further Meeting or expoſtu-
" lation, ſhall forthwith ſend Aid to the Confe-
" derate in Danger, but in different Proportion,
" namely, the *Maſſachuſets* one hundred Men
" ſufficiently Armed, and provided for ſuch a
" Service and Journey; and *each of the reſt*, for-
" ty five Men ſo armed and provided, or any
" leſs Number, if leſs be required, according to
" this Proportion. But if ſuch a Confederate
" may be ſupplied by their next Confederate, not
" exceeding the Number hereby agreed, they
" may crave Help there, and ſeek no further
" for the Preſent; The Charge to be born as in
" this Article is expreſs'd; and at their Return
" to be victualled and provided with Powder and
" Shot (if there be need) for their Journey by
" that Juriſdiction, which employed or ſent for
" them. But none of the Juriſdictions to ex-
" ceed theſe Numbers, 'till by a Meeting of the

" Com-

Anno 1643 " Commiſſioners for this *Codfederation*, a greater " Aid appears neceſſary. And this Proportion " to continue, 'till upon Knowledge of the Num- " bers in each Juriſdiction, which ſhall be brought " to the next Meeting, ſome other Proportion be " ordered. But in any ſuch Caſe of ſending " Men for preſent Aid, whether before or after " ſuch Order or Alteration, it is agreed that at " the meeting of the Commiſſioners for this Con- " federation, the Cauſe of ſuch War or Invaſion " be duly conſidered, and if it appear that the " fault lay in the Party ſo invaded, that then " that Juriſdiction or Plantation make juſt Satis- " faction both to the Invaders whom they have " injured, and bear all the Charges of the War " themſelves without requiring any Allowance " from the reſt of the Confederates towards the " ſame.

" AND further, if any Juriſdiction ſee any " Danger of an Invaſion approaching, and there " be time for a Meeting; that in ſuch Caſe three " *Magiſtrates* of that Juriſdiction may ſummons " a Meeting, at ſuch convenient Place as them- " ſelves ſhall think meet, to conſider and pro- " vide againſt the threatned Danger. Provided " when they are met, they may remove to what " Place they pleaſe; only while any of theſe four " Confederates have but three Magiſtrates in " their Juriſdiction, a requeſt or Summons from " any two of them ſhall be accounted of equal " Force with the three mention'd in both the " Clauſes of this Article, till there be an Increaſe " of Magiſtrates there.

VI. " IT is alſo agreed that for the manage- " ing and concluding of all Affairs proper to, and " concerning the whole *Confederation*, two Com- " miſſioners ſhall be choſen by and out of the " four Juriſdictions, namely, two for the *Maſſa-* " *chuſets*, two for *Plimouth*, two for *Connecticut*,

" and

" and two for *Newhaven*, being all in Church- Anno
" fellowſhip with us, which ſhall bring full 1643
" Power from their ſeveral general Courts re-
" ſpectively, to hear, examine, weigh and de-
" termine all Affairs of War or Peace, Lea-
" gues, Aids, Charges, and Numbers of Men
" for War, Diviſion of Spoils, or whatſoever is
" gotten by Conqueſt, receiving of more Con-
" federates or Plantatations into Combination
" with any of theſe Confederates, and all things
" of like nature which are the proper Concomi-
" tants, or Conſequences of ſuch a Confederati-
" on, for Amity, Offence and Defence, not in-
" termedling with the Government of any of the
" Juriſdictions, which by the third Article is
" preſerved entirely to themſelves. But if theſe
" eight Commiſſioners when they meet, ſhall not
" all agree, yet it is concluded that any ſix of
" the eight agreeing, ſhall have Power to ſettle
" and determine the Buſineſs in Queſtion; but
" if ſix do not agree, that then, ſuch Propoſi-
" tions with their Reaſons, ſo far as they have
" been debated, be ſent and referr'd to the four
" General Courts (*viz.*) the *Maſſachuſets*, *Pli-*
" *mouth*, *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*; and if at
" all the ſaid general Courts, the Buſineſs ſo
" referr'd be concluded, then to be proſecuted
" by the Confederates, and all their Members.
" It is further agreed, that theſe eight Commiſ-
" ſioners ſhall meet once every Year, beſides
" extraordinary Meetings according to the fifth
" Article, to conſider, treat, and conclude of
" all Affairs belonging to this Confederation,
" which Meeting ſhall ever be the firſt Thurſ-
" day in *September*. And that the next Meeting
" after the Date of theſe Preſents, which ſhall
" be accounted the ſecond Meeting, ſhall be at
" *Boſton* in the *Maſſachuſets*; the third at *Hart-*
" *ford*; the fourth at *Newhaven*, the fifth at
" *Plimouth*,

Anno 1643 " *Plimouth*, the ſixth and ſeventh at *Boſton*, and " then *Hartford*, *Newhaven* and *Plimouth*, and ſo " in Courſe ſucceſſively. If in the mean Time " ſome middle Place be not found out, and a- " greed on, which may be commodious for all " the Juriſdictions.

" VII. It is further agreed, That at each " Meeting of theſe 8 Commiſſioners, whether " ordinary or extraordinary, they all, or any ſix " of them, agreeing as before, may chuſe their " Preſident out of themſelves, whoſe Office and " Work ſhall be to take Care, and direct for " Order, and a comely carrying on of all Pro- " ceedings in the preſent Meeting; but he ſhall " be inveſted with no ſuch Power or Reſpect, " as by which he ſhall hinder the Propounding, " or Progreſs of any Buſineſs, or any Way caſt " the Scales, otherwiſe than in the precedent " Article is agreed.

" VIII. It is alſo agreed, That the Commiſ- " ſioners for this *Confederation*, hereafter at " their Meetings, whether ordinary or extraor- " dinary, as they may have Commiſſion or Op- " portunity, do endeavour to frame and eſtabliſh " Agreements, and Orders, in general Caſes of " a Civil Nature, wherein all the Plantations " intereſted for preſerving Peace among them- " ſelves, and preventing (as much as may be) " all Occaſions of War, or Differences with " others, as about the free and ſpeedy Paſſage " of Juſtice in each Juriſdiction to all the Con- " federates equally, as to their own receiving " thoſe that remove from one Plantation to " another without due Certificates; how all the " Juriſdictions may carry it towards the *Indi-* " *ans*, that they neither grow inſolent, nor be " injured without due Satisfaction, leſt War " break in upon the Confederates through ſuch " Miſcarriages. It is alſo agreed, That if any

" Ser-

" Servant run away from his Maſter into any " of theſe confederated Juriſdictions; that in " ſuch Caſe upon the Certificate of one Magi- " ſtrate in the Juriſdiction, out of which the " ſaid Servants fled, or upon other due Proof, " the ſaid Servant ſhall be delivered either to " his Maſter, or any other that purſues and " brings ſuch Certificate or Proof. And that " upon the Eſcape of any Priſoner whatſoever, " or Fugitive for any criminal Cauſe, whether " breaking Priſon, or getting from the Officer, " or otherwiſe eſcaping, upon the Certificate of " two Magiſtrates out of which the Eſcape is " made, that he was a Priſoner, or ſuch an Of- " fender at the Eſcape, the Magiſtrates, or ſome " of them of that Juriſdiction, where for the " preſent the ſaid Priſoner or Fugitive abideth, " ſhall forthwith grant ſuch a Warrant as the " Caſe will bear, for the apprehending of any " ſuch Perſon, and the Delivery of him into the " Hands of the Officer who purſueth him. And " if Help be required for the ſafe returning of " any ſuch Offender, it ſhall be granted to him " that craveth the ſame, he paying the Charges " thereof. *Anno* 1643

" IX. AND for that the juſt Wars may be of " dangerous Conſequence, eſpecially to the ſmall- " er Plantations in theſe united Colonies; it is " agreed, That neither the *Maſſachuſets*, *Pli-* " *mouth*, *Connecticut*, nor *Newhaven*, nor any of " the Members of any of them ſhall at any " Time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage " themſelves, or this Confederation, or any Part " thereof in any War whatſoever (ſudden Exi- " gencies with the neceſſary Conſequences there- " of excepted, which are alſo to be moderated " as much as the Caſe will permit) without " the Conſent and Agreement of the fore- " named eight Commiſſioners, or at leaſt ſix of

Anno 2014 " them, as in the ſixth Article is provided. And " that no Charge be required of any of the " Confederates, in Caſe of a defenſive War, 'till " the ſaid Commiſſioners have met, and ap- " proved the Juſtice of the War, and have a- " greed on the Sum of Money to be levied, " which Sum is then to be paid by the ſeveral " Confederates in Proportion, according to the " fourth Article.

" X. THAT on extraordinary Occaſions, " when Meetings are ſummon'd by three Ma- " giſtrates of any Juriſdiction, or two as in the " fifth Article, if any of the Commiſſioners come " not, due Warning being given, or ſent, it is " agreed, That four of the Commiſſioners ſhall " have Power to direct War, which cannot be " delayed, and to ſend for due Proportions of " Men out of each Juriſdiction, as well as ſix " might do, if all met, but not leſs than ſix ſhall " determine the Juſtice of the War, or allow the " Demands or Bills of Charges, or cauſe any " Levies to be made for the ſame.

" XI. IT is further agreed, That if any of " the Confederates ſhall hereafter break any of " theſe preſent Articles, or be any other Ways " injurious to any one of the other Juriſdictions, " the Breach of Agreement or Injury ſhall be " duly conſidered, and ordered by the Commiſ- " ſioners for the other Juriſdictions, that both " Peace and this preſent Confederation may " be entirely preſerved without Violation.

" LASTLY, This perpetual Confederation, " and the ſeveral Articles and Agreements " thereof being read, and ſeriouſly conſidered, " both by the general Court of the *Maſſa-* " *chuſets*, and the Commiſſioners for *Plimouth*, " *Connecticut*, and *Newhaven*; were preſently and " fully allowed and confirmed by three of the " forenamed Confederates, namely, the *Maſſa-*

" *chu-*

" *chuſets, Connecticut,* and *Newhaven.* In Teſti- Anno
" mony whereof the General Court of the *Maſ-* 1643
" *ſachuſets* by their Secretary, and the Commiſ-
" ſioners for *Connecticut* and *Newhaven,* ſubſcribed
" them the 19th Day of the third Month, com-
" monly called *May,* *Anno Domini,* 1643.

" ONLY the Commiſſioners from *Plimouth*
" having brought no Commiſſion to conclude,
" deſired Reſpite to adviſe with their General
" Court, which was granted, and at the ſecond
" Meeting of the Commiſſioners for the Confe-
" deration held at *Boſton* in *September* following,
" the Commiſſioners for the Juriſdiction of *Pli-*
" *mouth* delivered in an Order of their General
" Court, dated *Auguſt* 29, 1643. by which it ap-
" peared, that theſe Articles of Confederation
" were read, approved, and confirmed by the
" ſaid Court, and all their Townſhips, and their
" Commiſſioners authorized to ratifie them by
" their Subſcriptions, which they accordingly
" did the 7th Day of *September,* 1643."

FROM this Time we are to look upon the 4 Colonies of *New-England,* as *one Body,* with Regard to all the publick Tranſactions with their Neighbours, tho' the private Affairs of each Province were ſtill managed by Magiſtrates and Courts of their own.

WHILE this great Affair of the Union of the 4 grand Settlements of *New-England* was tranſacting, dyed Mr. *William Brewſter,* Teacher of the Church of *New-Plimouth,* a wiſe and prudent Man, and deſervedly called *the Father of New-England*; he had a learned Education in one of the *Engliſh* Univerſities, and from thence entred himſelf into the Service of Mr. *Daviſon,* Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth,* with whom he went over into *Holland,* and was entruſted with Affairs of great Importance, as particularly with the keeping the Keys of the *Cautionary Towns*;

Anno 1643 he afterwards lived in good Eſteem in his own Country, 'till the Severity of the Times forced him to return to *Holland*, where he became firſt a Member, and afterwards a Ruling Elder of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation at *Leyden*; here he continued 'till the Year 1620, and then at the Age of 60, had the Courage and Reſolution to put himſelf at the Head of that Part of the Church which began the firſt Settlement in *New-England*; he lived there almoſt 23 Years, and bore his Part of the Fatigues and Hardſhips of the Infant-Colony with the utmoſt Bravery; he was not an Ordained Miniſter, but being a Man of Learning and Piety, he preached to the Colony for above 7 Years, 'till they could provide themſelves with a Paſtor; the Magiſtrates and People paid him the greateſt Reſpect; and after a long Life filled with Sufferings on the Account of Religion, he dyed in the midſt of his Friends in Peace, *April* the 18th, 1643, in the 84th Year of his Age, and was buried with as great Honour and Solemnity, as the preſent Circumſtances of the Colony would admit.

1644 THE Town of *Plimouth* growing too ſtreight for the Inhabitants, and the Land thereabouts proving barren, and hardly worth manuring, ſome of the principal Gentlemen agreed to look out another Settlement, and having viewed a Tract of Land near the Promontory of *Cape Cod*, called by the *Indians*, *Namſet*, where the Soil was rich, and the Situation pleaſant, they purchaſed it of the Natives, and ſome of the beſt Families in Town removed thither with their Effects, and built the Town of *Eaſt-Ham*.

THE Peace of the Country had like to have been broken at the ſame Time by the following Accident; an *Indian* murdered an *Engliſh* Man in the Woods near *Connecticut*; the *Engliſh* demanded the Murderer, but the *Segamore* refuſed

to

to deliver him up, whereupon both Sides prepared for War; the furious *Indians* in the Heat of their Rage committed ſome Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, but when they ſaw the Storm that was coming upon them, they ſurrender'd the Murderer, and ſo the Peace was continued. *Anno* 1644

BUT tho' the publick Peace with the *Indians* was preſerved, the Commonwealth was in Diſorder from inteſtine Commotions within itſelf; for the Inhabitants of * *Hingham* in the County of *Suffolk*, quarrelling about the Election of their chief Military Officer, Mr. *Winthrop* Deputy-Governour of the Province, proceeded againſt the Rioters in an arbitrary Manner, obliging them to give Bond to appear at the Quarter-Court, and upon their Refuſal, he committed them to Priſon; the Accuſation laid againſt them was certain Words ſpoken, concerning the Liberty and Power of the *General Court* and their own Liberties granted them by the ſaid Court: The Majority of the Town were inflamed at the Impriſonment of their Friends, and ſigned a Petition to the General Court for a free Hearing, and Liberty of Speech to plead their common Liberties; in this Petition they complain of the following Grievances. 1645

FIRST, That they had not a ſettled Form of Government according to the Laws of *England*. ——— That they had not a ſure and comfortable Enjoyment of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, according to their natural Rights, as free-born Subjects of the *Engliſh* Nation. ——— From whence proceeded Fears of illegal Commitments, unjuſt Impriſonments, Taxes, Rates, Cuſtoms, Levies, of ungrounded and undoing Aſ-

* Child's New-England Jonas *caſt up at* London, 1647, p. 3.

Anno 1645 ſeſſments, unjuſtifiable Preſſes, undue Fines, *&c.* In a Word, of an Uncertainty of all Things they enjoy'd. ——— They therefore pray, that there may be a more ſettled Rule of Juſtice in Caſes of Judicature, from which if Men ſwerve, there may be ſome Power ſettled to call them to Account.

SECONDLY, That whereas there are many Thouſands in theſe Plantations of the *Engliſh* Nation free-born, quiet, peaceable Men, righteous in their Dealings, and forward to advance the publick Good, *&c.* who are debarr'd from all Civil Employments, not being permitted to bear the leaſt Office, nor to have a Vote in chuſing Magiſtrates, Captains, or other Civil or Military Officers. ——— They therefore deſire that Civil Liberty and Freedom be granted to all truly *Engliſh*, without impoſing any Oaths or Covenants on them, which ſeem not to concur with the Oath of Allegiance formerly enforced on all; or at leaſt, to detract from the Laws of their native Country; they being willing to take ſuch Oaths and Covenants, as expreſs their Deſire to promote the Glory of God, and the Good of the Plantation; their Duty to the State of *England*, and Love of their Nation. But they entreat, that their Bodies may not be impreſs'd, nor their Goods forcibly taken away, leſt they not knowing the Juſtice of the War, may be ignorantly and unwillingly forced upon their own Deſtruction. ———

THIRDLY, Whereas there are divers good People eminent for Knowledge, and no Way ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations, Members of the Churches of *England*, not diſſenting from the late and beſt Reformation of *England* and *Scotland*, who yet are prohibited the Lord's Supper, becauſe they will not ſubſcribe the

the Church's Covenant, for which they ſee no Light in the Word of God; but notwithſtanding are compell'd under a ſevere Fine every Lord's Day to appear at the Congregation, and Notice is taken of ſuch who ſtay not 'till Baptiſm be adminiſtred to other Men's Children, tho' denied to their own, and in ſome Places forced to contribute to the Maintenance of thoſe Miniſters who will not receive them into their Flock, tho' they deſire it. ------ They therefore pray for Liberty to the Members of the Churches of *England*, not ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations, to be received into the Churches; or elſe to grant Liberty to ſettle themſelves in a Church-way, according to the Reformation of *England* and *Scotland*. ------ Or elſe, they ſhall be neceſſitated to lay their Caſe before the Parliament of *England*. Anno 1645

Sign'd by *Robert Child*, *Tho. Fowle*, *Samuel Maverick*, *Thomas Burton*, *David Yale*, *John Smith*, *John Daud*.

SIX of theſe ſeven Petitioners were cited before the Court, and charged with great Offences contained in this Petition; they appealed to the Parliament of *England*, and tendred ſufficient Security to abide by their Sentence; but the Court thought themſelves empowered to determine the Affair themſelves, which they accordingly did, by ſentencing the Offenders to be impriſoned and fined.

DR. *Mather* ſays, * the Court had ſo much Regard to the Petitioners, as to order Mr. *Win-*

* *C. Mather* B. 2. p. 13.

Anno 1645 *throp*, the Deputy-Governour, to make his Defence in open Court before a vaſt Aſſembly of People, who firſt pleaded his Commiſſion, and ſhewed them how unreaſonable it was to call a Governour to Account during the time of his Adminiſtration; but this not giving Satisfaction, he came down from the Bench, and like a Criminal at the Bar, pleaded his Cauſe, and gave ſuch Reaſons for the juſtifying his Conduct, as rais'd the Indignation of the Deputies againſt the *Petitioners*, and made them not only acquit him, but lay a ſevere Fine on the Heads of his Proſecutors.

HE adds, further, that after the Trial was over Mr. *Winthrop* reſumed his Place of *Deputy Governour* upon the Bench, and ſpoke to the following Effect.

GENTLEMEN,

"I Will not look back to the paſt Proceedings "of this Court, nor to the Perſons there- "in concern'd; I am ſatisfy'd that I was pub- "lickly accuſed, and that I am now publickly "acquitted; but give me leave to ſay ſomething "on this Occaſion that may rectify the Opini- "ons of the People, from whom theſe Diſtempers "in the State have ariſen. The Queſtions that "have troubled the Country of late have been "about the Authority of the Magiſtrate and "the Liberty of the People: Magiſtracy is cer- "tainly an Appointment of God, and I entreat "you to conſider that you chooſe them from a- "mong yourſelves: And that they are Men ſub- "ject to like Paſſions with yourſelves: We take "an Oath to Govern you according to God's "Laws, and our own to the beſt of our skill; if "we commit Errors not willingly, but for want of "skill, you ought to bear with us; nor would

"I have

" I have you miſtake your own Liberty; there is a " Liberty of doing what we liſt, without regard to " Law or Juſtice; this Liberty is indeed inconſiſtent " with Authority; but civil moral, federal Li- " berty which conſiſts in every one's enjoying his " Property, and having the Benefit of the Laws " of his Country, this is what you ought to " contend for, with the hazard of your Lives; " but this is very conſiſtent with a due Subjec- " tion to the civil Magiſtrate, and the paying " him that Reſpect that his Character in the " Common-wealth requires." Anno 1645

THE Court and People were entirely ſatisfied with this Part of Mr. *Winthrop*'s Conduct, and ſo overcome with his Condeſcention, that to make him amends they choſe him Governour of the Province every Year after as long as he lived. * But the Petitioners reſolved to lay the Caſe before the Parliament of *England*, and accordingly Dr. *Child* and Mr. *Fowle* took Paſſage in the firſt Shipping that went for *England* after their Releaſe, and carried Authentick Copies of the whole Affair with them; the Government was alarmed at this Reſolution of the Petitioners and jealous of the Conſequence, inſomuch that Mr. *Cotton* in one of his Sermons took Occaſion to ſay, *That if any ſhall carry any Writings, or Complaints againſt the People of God in that Country to England, it would be as* Jonas *in the Ship.* Theſe Words made ſuch an Impreſſion upon ſome of the Paſſengers, that when they were in a Storm at Sea; a Woman came up from between Decks about midnight, and begg'd Mr. *Vaſſel* that if there was any *Jonas* in the Ship, as Mr. *Cotton* had directed,

* New-England's *Jonas*, p. 18.

it

Anno 1645 it might be thrown over Board; he ask'd her why ſhe came to him; ſhe reply'd, becauſe he had ſome Writings againſt the good People of *New-England*; but not being able to make any Impreſſion upon him, ſhe went to Mr. *Fowle* in the like diſtracted manner, who told her, They had nothing but a Petition to the Parliament that they might enjoy the Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, and a Copy of the Petition they had preſented to the Court at *Boſton*, and if ſhe and others thought them to be the Occaſion of the Storm, they might do what they would with them. So the Woman carried the Petitions to her Friends between Decks, who threw them over Board; but Mr. *Fowle* took care to preſerve the Originals, which he publiſhed afterwards to the World, under the Title of *New-England's* Jonas *caſt up at* London; but the Parliament of *England* were too buſie at this time to take Cognizance of the Affair.

OLD *England* was indeed in a dreadful Storm; for the King and Parliament, having battled it with Petitions and Remonſtrances againſt one another for ſome time, at laſt drew their Swords; whereupon the Parliament deprived the Biſhops of their Votes, and at length aboliſh'd the Epiſcopal Government it ſelf; each Party raiſed an Army, and Garriſon'd the chief Towns in their Poſſeſſion; the whole Kingdom took Part on one ſide or the other, 'till every Corner of the Land was filled with Blood and Confuſion. The foreign Proteſtants wiſhed well to the Parliament, for they were ſo incenſed at the ſevere Proceedings of Archbiſhop *Laud* and ſome other Prelates, that they could not but be pleaſed at their Downfall. The Archbiſhop had laid the *Dutch* and *French* Churches in *London* under ſevere Reſtraints

Reſtraints as to the Exerciſe of their Diſcipline,* and Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, had proceeded againſt thoſe of *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, and other Parts of his Dioceſs with ſuch warmth, that many of them left the Kingdom, and carried their Myſtery into foreign Parts to the leſſening of the Manufactures of the Kingdom. And whereas the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in Proteſtant Countries uſed to frequent their Churches; † Inſtructions had been given to the Lord *Scudamore* at *Paris*, not to go to *Charenton*, whereupon he fitted up the Chappel in his own Houſe, and furniſh'd it with Candles upon the Communion Table, to the great Offence of the Proteſtants of that Country, who had never ſeen any ſuch Thing before; and declared publickly, that the *Church of England*, did not look upon the *Hugonots* as a Part of her Communion. Theſe Proceedings of the Biſhops begot ill Blood amongſt Proteſtants; and made the foreign Churches unconcern'd at their Downfall; and tho' our Hiſtorians have varniſh'd theſe Things over, and given them the beſt turn they would bear, yet certainly they carried the Face of a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, whatever the Authors of theſe Counſels might intend by them. All the foreign Plantations ſided with the *Parliament*, except *Virginia*; the ſeveral Colonies of *New-England* we may be ſure did ſo; for the Biſhops had been their implacable Enemies, and driven them out of the Land; and one part of the Quarrel between the King and Parliament was the very ſame for which they left the Country: For them therefore to wiſh well to the Par- Anno 1645

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* *Compleat Hiſt. of* Eng. Vol. III. *p.* 72.

† *Ibid.* p. 120.

liament,

Anno 1645 liament, was no more, than to wiſh well to themſelves; but tho' the *New-England* Colonies were on the Parliament ſide, they were not capable of giving them the leaſt Aſſiſtance, but like Spectators at a diſtance enjoying all the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, they only look'd on and beheld the Calamities in which their Native Country was involv'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Converſion of the Indians. *Several Conferences of the Reverend Mr.* Eliot *with them. A Body of* Indians *agree to enter into civil Society, and make Laws by Mr.* Eliot's *Direction for their Government. The Confeſſion of Faith of* Ponampam *an* Indian *Convert. Two Exhortations or Sermons of* Indian *Preachers on a Faſt-Day. Of the Converſion of the* Indians *of* Martha's Vineyard, *under the Conduct of Mr.* Mayhew. Hiaccoomes's *boldneſs and Conſtancy in the Chriſtian Faith; the Reverend Mr.* Mayhew's *Death and Character. Mr.* Increaſe Mather's *Letter to Profeſſor* Leuſden *at* Utrecht *giving an Account of the Number of the* Indian *Churches their Manner of Worſhip, and Form of Church Diſcipline. The Continuation of their Hiſtory. Of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in* New-England.

WHEN the *Engliſh* firſt took Poſſeſſion of *New-England*, the Natives were a wild and ſavage People, without any form of civil Government, and very little Appearance of Religion; their *Princes* were abſolute Maſters of the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects; and their *Prieſts* were a ſort of Conjurers, who pretended *Anno* 1646

Anno 1646 pretended to converſe with familiar Spirits, but did not encourage the People's Devotion, nor inſtruct them in any of the ſocial Virtues; they had neither Temples, nor Altars, nor any ſtated times of religious Worſhip. When a Perſon was ſick, the *Prieſt* was ſent for to make uſe of his Enchantments for his Recovery; and when any publick Calamity befell the Country, the Prieſts and People offer'd ſome ſort of Sacrifices to appeaſe the Deity; but at other times, they never troubled their Heads about the Matter. One thing further deſerves to be taken Notice of, which is, that the chief Object of their Devotions was the *Devil*; they ſeldom worſhip'd the Supreme Being *Kichtan*, becauſe they apprehended him to be a *good Being*, who would not hurt any of his Creatures; but they ſtood in great Awe of *Hobamocko*, the Author of all Evil, and upon every Miſchief that befell them, loaded his Altars with their Burnt-Offerings.

IT moved the Compaſſion of the firſt Planters of *New-England*, who left their native Country on the Account of Religion, to ſee ſo many poor Souls wandring in the Paths of Ignorance and Error, who were Men as well as themſelves, and wanted only Inſtruction to bring them to the Knowledge of God in Chriſt; beſides the *King* of *England*, in the Charter which he granted to the Colony had declared that "to win and incite "the Natives of that Country to the Knowledge "and Obedience of the only true God, and Sa"viour of Mankind, was in his Royal Intention, "and the Adventurers free Poſſeſſion, the princi"pal End of the Plantation".

THE Rev. Mr. *Eliot*, therefore, Miniſter of *Roxbury*, reſolv'd to attempt this great Work, and for this purpoſe hired an *Indian* who could ſpeak *Engliſh* to teach him the Language: The *Indian* Language, as the Reader hath already obſerv'd in the firſt Chapter,

Chapter, muſt be very difficult to learn, by reaſon of the exceſſive length of the Words, which have not the the leaſt Affinity with any of the *European* Languages; the Prounciation is harſh, and the way of converſing in it, very unpleaſant by reaſon of the ſlow Communication of Ideas; but Mr. *Eliot*'s Zeal ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties, ſo that by converſing with his *Indian* Servant a few Months, he was able to ſpeak the Language intelligibly, and after ſome time by his own indefatigable Pains and Induſtry, he became ſo compleat a Maſter of it, as to be capable of reducing it to a Method, which he has ſince publiſhed to the World under the Title of the *Indian Grammar*. Anno 1646.

HAVING thus fitted himſelf for his Work, he reſolved to break the Ice; and accordingly on the 28th of *October* 1646. He went with three more in Company, * to the Neighbouring *Indians* having given them Notice before-hand of his deſire to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Faith; *Waaubon*, a wiſe and grave Man, tho' no *Sachem*, with five or ſix *Indians* met them at ſome diſtance from their *Wigwams*, and bidding them welcome conducted them into a large Apartment, where a great Number of the Natives were gathered together, to hear this new Doctrine which the *Engliſh* were to teach them; after a ſhort Prayer Mr. *Eliot* rehearſed and explained the ten Commandments; informing them at the ſame time of the dreadful Curſe of God that would fall upon all thoſe that brake them: He then told them, who *Jeſus Chriſt* was, where he was now gone, and how he would one Day come again to judge the World in flaming Fire; he informed them likewiſe of the Bleſſed State

* *Day-breaking of the Goſpel in* New-England, *London*, 1647. p. 1.

of

Anno 1646 of all thoſe who by Faith believe in Chriſt, and know him ſavingly; he ſpake alſo of the Creation and fall of Man; of the infinite greatneſs of God, the Maker of all Things; of the Joys of Heaven and the Torments of Hell; perſuading them to Repentance, and a good Life. Having ſpent about an Hour in diſcourſing upon theſe Arguments; he deſired to know whether they would ask him any Queſtions about his Sermon; upon which one ſtood up and asked, *How he might come to know Jeſus Chriſt?* Another enquired, *Whether* Engliſhmen *were ever ſo Ignorant of Jeſus Chriſt as themſelves?* A Third, *Whether Jeſus Chriſt could underſtand Prayers in the* Indian *Language?* Another propos'd this Queſtion; *How there could be an Image of God, ſince it was forbidden in the ſecond Commandment?* Another, *Whether if the Father be naught, and the Child good, God will be offended with that Child, becauſe in the ſecond Commandment it is ſaid, he viſits the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children?* The laſt Queſtion that was asked at this Meeting was, *How all the World became full of People, if they were all once drowned in the Flood?* Mr. *Eliot* and his Friends gave plain and familiar Anſwers to all theſe Queſtions, and after a Conference of about three Hours returned Home.

UPON the 11th of *November*,* they gave the *Indians* another Meeting by Appointment; and found a larger Company met together than before; Mr. *Eliot* began firſt with the Children, and taught them theſe three Queſtions and Anſwers. Q. 1. *Who made you and all the World?* *A.* God. Q. 2. *Who do you expect ſhould ſave you from Sin and Hell?* *A.* Jeſus Chriſt. Q. 3. *How many Commandments hath God given you to keep?*

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* *Ibid.* p. 7.

A. Ten.

A. Ten. He afterwards preached about an Hour to the whole Company concerning the Nature of God, and the Neceſſity of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt for the procuring his Favour; he informed them likewiſe what Jeſus Chriſt had done and ſuffered for the Salvation of Sinners, and what dreadful Judgments they muſt expect, if they neglected the Salvation that was now offer'd them. The whole Company appeared very ſerious; and after Sermon, Liberty being given them to ask any Queſtions for their further Information; an old Man preſently ſtood up and with Tears in his Eyes, asked, *Whether it was not too late for ſuch an old Man as he, who was near Death to repent and ſeek after God?* Another asked, *How the* Engliſh *came to differ ſo much from the* Indians *in their Knowledge of God and Jeſus Chriſt, ſince they had all at firſt but one Father?* Another enquired, *How it came to paſs that Sea-Water was Salt and River Water freſh?* Another, *That if the Water was higher than the Earth, how it comes to paſs that it does not overflow all the Earth?* Mr. *Eliot* and his friends ſpent ſeveral Hours in anſwering theſe and ſome other Queſtions, and in the Evening return'd home; the *Indians* telling them *that they did much thank God for their coming; and for what they had heard, they were wonderful Things to them.* Anno 1646

UPON the 26th of the ſame Month, they met the *Indians* a third time,* but the Company was not ſo numerous as before, becauſe the *Powaws* or *Prieſts* had diſwaded ſome from coming to hear the *Engliſh* Miniſters, and threatned others with Death; but thoſe that were preſent appeared very ſerious, and ſeemed to be touched with Mr. *Eliot*'s Sermon. Two or three Days after

* *Ibid.* p. 18.

Anno 1646 this Meeting, *Wampas*, a wiſe and ſage *Indian*, with two of his Companions, came to the *Engliſh*, and deſired to be admitted into ſome of their Families; he brought his Son and two or three other *Indian* Children with him, begging they might be educated in the *Chriſtian Faith*, which the *Engliſh* granted; and at the next Meeting all that were preſent offered their Children to be catechized, and inſtructed by the *Engliſh*, who upon this Motion reſolved to ſet up a School among them.

BUT before this could be accompliſhed, it was neceſſary to take them off from their wild way of living, and bring them into a ſort of civil Society; the general Court therefore gave the *Indians* in that Neighbourhood ſome Land to build a Town upon, which they thankfully accepted, and called it by the Name of *Noonatomen*, that is *Rejoycing*. And as many as were willing to be civilized, met together and agreed on the following Laws.

Firſt, * That if any Man be idle a Week, or at moſt a fortnight he ſhall pay five Shillings.

Secondly, IF any unmarried Man ſhall lie with a Young Woman unmarried, he ſhall pay twenty Shillings.

Thirdly, IF any Man ſhall beat his Wife, his Hands ſhall be tied behind him, and he ſhall be carried to the Place of Juſtice to be ſeverely puniſhed.

Fourthly, EVERY young Man, if not another's Servant, and if unmarried ſhall be compell'd to ſet up a *Wigwam*, and plant for himſelf, and not ſhift up and down in other *Wigwams*.

Fifthly, IF any Woman ſhall not have her

* *Ibid.* p. 22.

Hair,

Hair tied up, but hang looſe, or be cut as Men's Hair, ſhe ſhall pay five Shillings. *Anno* 1646

Sixthly, IF any Woman ſhall go with naked Breaſts, ſhe ſhall pay two Shillings.

Seventhly, ALL Men that wear long Locks ſhall pay five Shillings.

Eighthly, IF any ſhall kill their Lice between their Teeth, they ſhall pay five Shillings.

BUT the general Court being willing to encourage the *Indians* further, made the following Order concerning them, dated *May* 26, 1647.

" *UPON Information that the *Indians* dwelling among us, are by the Miniſtry of the " Word brought to ſome Civility, and are deſirous " to have a Court of ordinary Judicature ſet " up among them: It is therefore order'd by " Authority of this Court, that one or more of " the Magiſtrates, ſhall once every Quarter keep " a Court at ſuch Place where the *Indians* ordi- " narily aſſemble to hear the Word of God, to " hear and determine all Cauſes both civil and " criminal not being capital, concerning the *In- " dians* only; and that the *Indian Sachems* ſhall " have Liberty to take Orders in the Nature of " Summons, or Attachments to bring any of " their People to the ſaid Courts, and to keep a " Court of themſelves every Month, if they ſee " Occaſion, to determine ſmall Cauſes of a " civil Nature, and ſuch ſmaller criminal Cauſes, " as the ſaid Magiſtrates ſhall refer to them; and " the ſaid *Sachems* ſhall appoint Officers to ſerve " Warrants and to execute the Orders and Judg- " ments of either of the ſaid Courts, which Officers " ſhall from time to time be allowed by the ſaid " Magiſtrates in the quarter Courts, or by the " Governour: And that all Fines to be impoſed

* Shephard's *clear Sun-ſhine of the Goſpel upon the* Indians, *London* 1648. p. 15.

Anno 1646 " upon any *Indian* in any of the ſaid Courts, " ſhall go and be beſtowed towards the building " of ſome Meeting-houſes for Education of their " poorer Children in Learning, or other publick " Uſe, by the Advice of the ſaid Magiſtrates, " and of Mr. *Eliot*, or of ſuch other Elder as " ſhall ordinarily inſtruct them in the true Reli- " gion. And it is the Deſire of this Court that " theſe *Magiſtrates* and Mr. *Eliot*, or ſuch other " *Elders* as ſhall attend the keeping of the ſaid " Courts, will carefully endeavour to make the " *Indians* underſtand, our moſt uſeful Laws, and " the Principles of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Equity, " whereon they are grounded, and it is deſired " that ſome Care may be taken of the *Indians* " on the Lord's Day."

THE Ground on which their Town was to be built, being mark'd out, Mr. *Eliot* adviſed them to fence it in with Ditches, * and a Stone Wall, promiſing to give them, *Shovels*, *Spades*, *Mattocks*, and *Crows* of *Iron* for this Purpoſe; he likewiſe gave Money to thoſe that work'd hardeſt, by which means their Town was ſoon encloſed and the *Wigwams* or Houſes of the meaneſt were equal to thoſe of the *Sachems* in other Places, being built not with Matts, but with the Barks of Trees; and divided into ſeveral Apartments; whereas before they uſed to eat and ſleep, and do all the Offices of Nature together.

THE Women began to learn to ſpin, and find ſomething to ſell at Market all the Year round; in the Winter they ſold *Brooms*, *Staves*, *Baskets*, *Turkies*; in the Spring *Cranberries*, *Fiſh*, *Strawberries*; in the Summer *Hurtleberries*, *Grapes*, *Fiſh*, beſides ſeveral of them work'd with the *Engliſh* in Hay time and Harveſt; but they were nei-

* *Ibid.* p. 28. 32.

ther

ther ſo induſtrious nor capable of hard Labour, as thoſe who have been bred to it. Anno 1646

WHILE theſe Things were doing at *Noonatomen*, the *Indians* about *Concord* expreſs'd their Deſires of being civilized, and of receiving the Chriſtian Faith, they begg'd Mr. *Eliot* to come and preach to them, and addreſs'd the Government for a ſpot of Ground either by the Side of the *Bear Swamp*, or on the Eaſt ſide of Mr. *Flint's* Pond to build them a Town; about the latter End of *February* ſeveral of their *Sachems* and Principal Men met at *Concord*, and agreed upon the following Laws for their civil and religious Government.

THAT * there ſhall be no more *Powawing* among them, upon Penalty of twenty Shillings for every Offence.

THAT whoſoever ſhall be Drunk ſhall forfeit twenty Shillings.

THAT if any be convicted of Stealing, he ſhall reſtore fourfold.

THAT whoſoever ſhall prophane the Sabbath ſhall pay twenty Shillings.

THAT whoſoever ſhall commit Fornication, ſhall pay twenty Shillings if a Man, and ten Shillings if a Woman.

WILFUL Murder, Adultery, and Lying with a Beaſt to be puniſhed with Death.

NONE to beat their Wives, on penalty of twenty Shillings.

THEY reſolved to lay aſide their old Ceremonies of howling, greaſing their Bodies, adorning their Hair; and to follow the *Engliſh* Faſhions.

THEY agreed to pray in their *Wigwams*, and to ſay *Grace* before and after Meat.

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* *Clear Sun-ſhine*, p. 4.

Anno 1646

THESE and ſome other Orders of the ſame Nature, were publiſhed and approved by the whole Company, and Capt. *Willard* of *Concord* was deſired to be their Recorder, and ſee them put in Execution.

BUT to return to the *Indians* at *Noonatomen*; the Rev. Mr. *Wilſon*, *Allen*, *Dunſtar*, *Shepard*, with ſeveral other *Engliſh* went thither on the third of *March*, and after Sermon deſired that if any of the *Indian Women* had any Difficulties with Regard to the Chriſtian Religion, they would propoſe them, either by acquainting their Husbands, or the Interpreter, privately with them; accordingly one ask'd, *Whether ſhe pray'd, when ſhe only join'd with her Husband in his Prayer to God Almtghty*; another ask'd, *Whether her Husband's Prayer ſignify'd any thing, if he continued to be angry with his Wife, and beat her:* At this, and ſome other Meetings, the *Engliſh* gave away Cloaths to the *Indian* Men, Women, and Children; ſo that on a Lecture Day the greateſt part of them appeared handſomely dreſs'd after the *Engliſh* Manner.

BUT Mr. *Eliot*'s Labours were not confined to one or two Places, he travelled into all Parts of the *Maſſachuſet* and *Plimouth* Colonies even as far as *Cape Cod*, offering to preach the Goſpel to as many of the *Sachems* and their Subjects as would hear him; he was in Journeyings often, and (as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſays of himſelf) *in Perils of Water, in Perils by the Heathen, in Perils in the City, and in Perils in the Wilderneſs.* In a Letter that he writ to the Honourable Mr. *Winſlow*,* He tells him, that he had not been dry Day nor Night from Tueſday to Saturday, but travell'd from Place to Place in that Condition, "only at

* *Mr.* Eliot's *Letters publiſhed by* Whitfield, 1651. p 21.

"Night

'Night (ſays he) I pull off my Boots, and wring
" my Stockings, and ſo put them on again, I
" have conſidered the Exhortation of the Apoſtle
" *Paul* to his Son *Timothy*, *That we muſt endure*
" *Hardſhip, as good Soldiers of Jeſus Chriſt.*" He went uſually once a fortnight on his Miſſionary Work, tho' herein he frequently carried his Life in his Hand; for ſuch was the Malice of ſeveral of the *Indian* Princes and Prieſts againſt him, that they often plotted his Deſtruction, and would certainly have put him to the moſt tormenting Death, if they had not been awed by the Power and Strength of the *Engliſh* Colonies; Nor is this to be wondred at, for if it be very difficult to civilize barbarous Nations, 'tis much more ſo to make them Chriſtians; All Men have naturally a Veneration for the Religion of their Anceſtors, and the Prejudices of Education are inſuperable without the extraordinary Grace of God. Beſides the *Indian Princes* and *Prieſts* look'd upon Mr. *Eliot* as a Man that deſign'd to overturn their civil as well as religious Policy; the *Prince* was jealous of his Prerogative, and the *Prieſt* of his Gain, and ſo both join'd together to hinder the Progreſs of the new Doctrines. The *Monhegin Indians* were ſo jealous of the General Court's obliging them to pray to God, that *Uncas* their *Sachem* went to the Court at *Hartford* to proteſt againſt it.* *Cutſhamoquin*, another *Sachem* came to the *Indian* Lecture, and openly proteſted againſt their building a Town, telling the *Engliſh*, that all the *Sachems* in the Country were againſt it; he was ſo honeſt as to tell Mr. *Eliot* the Reaſon of it; for (ſays he) the *Indians* that pray to God do not pay me Tribute as formerly they did; which was in part true

Anno 1646

* Whitfield's *Diſcovery of the preſent State of the* Indians *in* New-England, 1651. page 38.

Anno 1646 ſer whereas before the *Sachem* was abſolute Maſter of his Subjects; their Lives and Fortunes being at his Diſpoſal; they gave him now no more than they thought reaſonable; but to wipe of the Reproach that *Cutſhamoquin* had laid upon them, thoſe few praying *Indians* who were preſent, told Mr. *Eliot*, what they had done for their *Sachem* the two laſt Years, leaving him to judge whether their Prince had any reaſon to complain; at one time they gave him 26 Buſhels of Corn; at another time 6 Buſhels more; on two hunting Days they killed him 15 Deers; they broke up for him two Acres of Land; they made him a great Houſe or Wigwam; they made 20 Rod of Fence for him, with a Ditch and 2 Rails about it; they paid a Debt for him of three Pound ten Shillings; one of them gave him a Skin of a *Beaver* of two Pounds, beſides many Days Work in Planting Corn all together; yea they ſaid they would willingly do more if he would govern them juſtly by the Word of God. But the *Sachem* ſwelling with Indignation, at this unmannerly Diſcourſe of his Vaſſals, turn'd his Back upon the Company and went away in the greateſt Rage imaginable; tho' upon better Conſideration himſelf turned Chriſtian not long after.

INNUMERABLE were the Affronts that Mr. *Eliot* met with in his Miſſionary Work, ſometimes the *Sachems* would thruſt him out from among them, telling him he was impertinent to trouble himſelf with them or their Religion, and that if he came again, it ſhould be at his Peril; but his uſual Reply was, "that he was about "the Work of the great God, and therefore did "not fear them, nor all the *Sachems* in the Coun-"try; that he was reſolved to go on with his "Work, and bid them touch him at their Peril." When he offered to preach the Goſpel to *Philip*

King

King of the *Wompanoags*, *Philip* look'd upon him with Scorn, and taking hold of one of his Buttons, told him, *He cared no more for his Goſpel than for that Button.* Anno 1646

BUT 'tis no wonder that they treated Mr. *Eliot* after this rude Manner, when they baniſhed from their Society all thoſe of their own People that favoured Chriſtianity, and when they could do it with Safety, put them to Death; nothing but the formidable Power of the *Engliſh* hindred them from Maſſacring all the new Converts, which obliged ſome well diſpoſed Perſons to conceal their Sentiments in Religion, and others to fly to the *Engliſh* for Protection.

THE *Powaws* likewiſe made Uſe of all their Inchantments to keep the People in Awe; they asked them, what they would do when they were ſick; for when the *Indians* are ſick the *Powaws* are their Phyſicians for Soul and Body, they adminiſter Phyſick, and at the ſame Time addreſs their Deities for a Bleſſing; they howl and dance, and uſe a great many Charms for the ſick Man's Recovery; and the People believe that by their familiar Converſe with the World of Spirits they can kill or cure, except in ſome particular Caſes, wherein the *Deity* is inexorable; they believe they can bewitch their Enemies, and, if they pleaſe, by an inviſible Power put them to Death: Even the new Converts were of this Mind, only they affirm'd the *Chriſtians* God to be a Being of ſuperior Power to the God of the *Powaws*: When ſome of the *Powaws* threatned *Jaccomes* a Chriſtian Convert with his Life, telling him, that he knew they could deſtroy him with Witchcraft, and that they would do it, unleſs he return'd to his old Religion; he replyed, in the Face of a great Aſſembly of *Indians*, "That tho' the God "they worſhipped had great Power, yet he was "ſubſervient to him whom he had now choſen

"to

Anno 1646 "to ſerve." Another Time when the *Powaws* were bragging in the midſt of a great Aſſembly of *Indians*, that they could kill all the praying *Indians*, if they pleaſed; *Jaccomes* told them, "That if they brought all the *Powaws* in the "Country together, he would venture himſelf "in the midſt of all their Charms and Witch-"crafts, and by the Help of his God tread upon "them all." But tho' ſome of the Converts had Courage enough to defy the Power of the *Indian* Prieſts, yet others were afraid to appear openly againſt them, and Mr. *Eliot* ſays, that he obſerved a remarkable Difference in their Countenances, when the *Powaws* were preſent, and when they were out of the Way.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe Diſcouragements, the Chriſtian Religion * began to obtain in ſeveral Parts of the Country, both in the *Maſſachuſet* and *Plimouth* Patent; the new Converts were diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Praying Indians*, who as ſoon as they had renounc'd their Old Religion, abandon'd their wild and barbarous Way of Living. A conſiderable Body of them combined together in the Year 1651, and built a Town by the Side of *Charles-River*, which they call'd *Natick*: It conſiſts of three long Streets, two on this Side the River, and one on that, with Houſe-Lots to every Family; there is one large Houſe built after the *Engliſh* Manner, the lower Room is a large Hall, which ſerves for a Meeting-Houſe on the Lord's Day, and a School-Houſe on the Week-Days; there is a large Canopy of Matts rais'd upon Poles for Mr. *Eliot* and his Company; and other Sort of Canopies for themſelves and other Hearers to ſit under, the Men and

* *Manifeſtation of the further Progreſs of the Goſpel in* New-England, 1652. p. 17.

Women

Women being placed apart; the upper Room is a Kind of Wardrobe, where the *Indians* hang up their *Skins*, and other Things of Value; in a Corner of this Room Mr. *Eliot* has an Apartment partition'd off, with a Bed and Bedſtead in it: There is likewiſe a handſome large Fort, of a round Figure, paliſado'd with Trees, and a Foot-Bridge over the River, in Form of an Arch, the Foundation of which is ſecured with Stone, with ſeveral little Houſes after the *Engliſh* Faſhion. *Anno* 1646

As ſoon as they had fix'd their Settlement, * they applied to Mr. *Eliot* for a Form of Civil Government, who adviſed them to that which *Jether* propoſed to *Moſes* for the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, *Exod.* xviii. 21. Accordingly, on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, about 100 of them met together, and choſe one Ruler of 100, two Rulers of 50, and ten Rulers of 10; every private Man choſe who ſhould be his Ruler of 10, the Rulers ſtanding in Order, and every Man going to the Man he choſe; after this they entred into the following Covenant. "We are the Sons of "*Adam*, we and our Fathers have a long Time "been loſt in our Sins, but now the Mercy "of the Lord begins to find us out again; "therefore, the Grace of Chriſt helping us, we "do give ourſelves and our Children to God "to be his People; he ſhall rule us in all our "Affairs, not only in our Religion, and Affairs "of the Church, but alſo in all our Works and "Affairs in this World; God ſhall rule over us, "the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-"giver, the Lord is our King, he will ſave us; "the Wiſdom which God has taught us in his "Book, that ſhall guide us, and direct us in

* *Ibid* page 9, 10.

"the

Anno 1646 "the Way. O Jehovah, teach us Wiſdom to "find out thy Wiſdom in thy Scriptures; let "the Grace of Chriſt help us, becauſe Chriſt is "the Wiſdom of God; ſend thy Spirit into our "Hearts and let it teach us; Lord take us to "be thy People, and let us take thee to be our "God."

THE New-Converts continued ſeveral Years under the Character of *Catecumens*, all which Time they were viſited by Mr. *Eliot*, or ſome other *Divine* of the Country every Week, who catechiz'd their Children, preach'd upon ſome Article of the Chriſtian Faith, and anſwered ſuch Queſtions as the *Indians* propoſed to them; at length, upon their repeated Deſires to be formed into a Church, a Day was appointed, which they called *Natootomakteackeſuk*, or the Day of asking Queſtions, when the Miniſters, and ſeveral of the Members of the adjacent Churches aſſiſted with the beſt Interpreters that could be had, met at *Natick*, to judge of their Fitneſs for Chriſtian Communion: This great Aſſembly was on the 13th of *October*, 1652, when about 14 or 15 *Indians* made diſtinct and open Confeſſions of their Faith in Chriſt, and of the Efficacy of the Word towards their Converſions; Mr. *Eliot* writ them down as they ſpoke them, and afterwards publiſhed them to the World under the Title of *Tears of Repentance*, or, a Narrative of the farther Progreſs of the Goſpel among the *Indians* in *New-England*. He tells the World in his Book, (*p.* 26.) "That he had not knowingly, or wil-"lingly, made their Confeſſions better than they "made themſelves, but he is verily per-"ſwaded on good Grounds, that he has rather "rendred them weaker than they deliver'd them, "partly by miſſing ſome Words of Weight in "ſome Sentences, partly by abbreviating ſome "Paſſages, and partly, by Reaſon of the diffe-

"rent

" rent Idioms of *their* Language and ours." However, I will preſent the Reader with a Copy of one of their *Confeſſions*, by which he may form a Judgment of the reſt. Anno 1646

The CONFESSION *of* PONAMPAM, *on the Faſt-Day, before the Great Aſſembly.*

" BEFORE * I prayed to God, I committed " all Manner of Sins, and when I heard " the Catechiſm that God made me, I did not " believe it, becauſe I knew I ſprang from my " Father and Mother; and therefore I deſpiſed " the Word, and therefore again I did act all " Sins, and I did love them. Then God was " merciful to me to let me hear that Word, " that *all ſhall pray from the riſing to the ſetting* " *Sun*; and then I conſidered whether I ſhould " pray, but I found not in my Heart that all " ſhould pray; but then I conſider'd of pray- " ing, and what would become of me if I " did not pray, and what would become of me " if I did pray; but I thought if I did pray, the " *Sachems* would be angry; becauſe they did not " ſay, pray to God; and therefore I did not yet " pray, but conſidering of that Word, that all " ſhall pray, I was troubled, and I found in my " Heart, that I would pray to God, and yet I " feared that others would laugh at me, " and therefore I did not yet pray. After- " wards God was yet merciful to me, and I " heard that God made the World and the firſt " Man, and I thought it was true, and therefore " I would pray to God, becauſe he hath made " all; and yet when I did pray I thought I " did not pray aright, becauſe I prayed for the " Sake of Man, and I thought this was a great

* *Tears of Repentance*, London, 1653. p. 23.

" Sin;

Anno 1646 " Sin; but then I wondred at God's free Mer-
" cy to me, for I ſaw God made me, and gives
" me all Mercies, and then I was troubled, and
" ſaw that many were my Sins, and that I do
" not yet believe; then I prayed; yet my Heart
" ſinned, for I prayed only with my Mouth; and
" then I repented of my Sins, and then a little
" I conſidered, and remembred God's Love to
" us; but I was a Sinner, and many were my
" Sins, and a little I repented of them, and yet
" again I ſinned, and quickly was my *Heart* full
" of Sin; and then again was my *Heart* angry
" with myſelf, and often I loſt all this again, and
" fell into Sin. Then I heard that Word that
" God ſent *Moſes* into *Egypt*, and promiſed, *I*
" *will be thee:* That Promiſe I conſider'd; but I
" thought that in vain I did ſeek, and I was
" aſham'd that I did ſo: And I pray'd, O God
" teach me truly to pray, not only before Man,
" but before God; and pardon all my Sins.
" Again, I heard that Word that Chriſt taught
" thro' every Town and Village, *Repent, and be-*
" *lieve, and be ſaved*; and a little I believ'd this
" Word, and I lov'd it, and then I ſaw all my
" Sins, and pray'd for Pardon. Again, I heard that
" Word, *He that caſteth off God, him will God caſt*
" *off*; and I found in my Heart that I had done
" this, and I fear'd becauſe of this my Sin, leſt
" God ſhould caſt me off, and that I ſhould for
" ever periſh in Hell, becauſe God hath caſt me
" off, I having caſt off God. Then I was trou-
" bled about *Hell*, and what ſhall I do if I be
" be damn'd. Then I heard that Word, *If ye*
" *repent and believe, God pardons all Sins:* Then I
" thought, Oh that I had this! I deſir'd to repent
" and believe; and I begg'd of God, Oh give
" me Repentance and Faith! freely do it for
" me! and I ſaw God was merciful to do it.
" But I did not attend the Lord only ſometimes,

" and

" and I now confeſs that I am aſham'd of my
" Sins, my Heart is broken and melteth in me, An. 1646
" I am angry at myſelf; I deſire Pardon in
" Chriſt; I betruſt my Soul with Chriſt, that he
" may do it for me."

IT muſt be remembered that theſe *Indians* could neither write nor read, that they pronounced theſe Confeſſions before a large Aſſembly of *Engliſh*, and were often interrupted by the Writers; which is a ſufficient Apology for their want of Method and Expreſſion. The Miniſters communicated theſe Confeſſions to their ſeveral Churches, who approved of them; but yet were not very forward to encourage their Approach to the Table of the Lord, till further Trial. However at laſt they were incorporated into a Church after the Manner of *New-England*, giving themſelves firſt to the Lord, and then to one another in an holy Covenant, promiſing to walk together in all the Ordinances and Inſtitutions of the Goſpel; and Mr. *Eliot*, being commiſſioned by his Church at *Roxbury*, firſt baptized, and then adminiſtred the Lord's Supper to them. Thus was the firſt *Indian Church* formed about the Year of our LORD, 1660.

BUT Mr. *Eliot*'s Care of the new *Converts* was not confin'd to his own Perſonal Inſtruction; he therefore took *Moneqeſſun*, an ingenious *Indian*, into his Houſe, and having taught him to read and write, made him Schoolmaſter at *Natick*: He likewiſe tranſlated into the *Indian* Language *Primers*, *Catechiſms*, *the Practice of Piety*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, ſeveral of Mr. *Shepard*'s *Compoſures*, and at length *the Bible itſelf*, which was printed the firſt Time at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1664, and a little after Mr. *Eliot*'s Death a ſecond time with the Corrections of Mr. *Cotton*, Miniſter of *Plimouth*. Some of the *Indians*,

Indians, who had a Genius for Learning, were
1646 admitted into the College, and had a liberal Education beſtowed upon them, whereby their Congregations were quickly furniſh'd with Miniſters of their own. In the mean time, Mr. *Eliot* viſited them as often as he could on the Week Days, and encouraged the moſt judicious among them to give a Word of Exhortation to their Brethren on the Lord's Day. I have ſeen an Abſtract of ſix of their Exhortations on a Day of Faſting and Prayer, for exceſſive Rains, *November* the 15th, 1658. I'll gratify the Reader's Curioſity with one or two of them.*

The EXHORTATION *of* WABAN, *an* Indian, *from* Matth. ix. 12, 13.

When Jeſus heard that, he ſaid, They that be whole need not a Phyſician, but they that are ſick.

But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice; for I came not to call the Righteous but Sinners to Repentance.

"I AM a poor weak Man, and know but "little, and therefore I ſhall ſay but "little.

"THESE Words are a Similitude, that as "ſome be ſick and ſome well; and we ſee in "Experience that when we be ſick we need a "Phyſician, and go to him, and make uſe of his "Phyſick; but they that be well do not ſo, they "need it not, and care not for it: So it is with "*Soul-Sickneſs*; and we are all ſick of that Sick-"neſs in our Souls, but we know it not. We "have many at this time ſick in Body, for which

* Eliot's *Letter to the Corporat.* Lond. 1659. p. 8.

Cauſe

" Cauſe we do faſt and pray this Day, and cry Anno
" to God; but more are ſick in their Souls. We 1646
" have a great many Diſeaſes and Sickneſſes in
" our Souls, as *Idleneſs*, Neglect of the *Sabbath*,
" *Paſſion*, &c. Therefore what ſhould we do this
" Day, but go to Chriſt the Phyſician, for
" Chriſt is the Phyſician of Souls: He healed
" Men's Bodies, but he can heal *Souls* alſo: He
" is a great Phyſician, therefore let all Sinners
" go to him; therefore this Day know what
" need we have of Chriſt, and let us go to Chriſt
" to heal us of our Sins, and he can heal us both
" Soul and Body. Again, What is that Leſſon
" which Chriſt would have us learn, *that he came*
" *not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance?*
" What! doth not God love them that be righ-
" teous? Doth he not call them to him? Doth
" not God love Righteouſneſs? Is not God
" righteous? *Anſw.* The Righteous here are
" not meant thoſe that are truly righteous, but
" thoſe that are Hypocrites, that ſeem righteous
" and are not; that think themſelves righteous,
" but are not ſo indeed: Such God calleth not,
" neither doth he care for them. But ſuch as
" ſee their Sins, and are ſick of Sin, them Chriſt
" calleth to Repentance, and to believe in Chriſt:
" Therefore let us ſee our Need of Chriſt to heal
" all our Diſeaſes of Soul and Body.

The EXHORTATION *of* NISHOKOU *, *from* Geneſis viii. 20, 21.

And Noah *built an Altar to* Jehovah, *and he took of every clean Beaſt, and of every clean Fowl, and offered burnt Offerings on the Altar.*

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* *Ibid.* p. 10.

Anno 1646 *And the Lord ſmelt a ſweet Savour, and the Lord ſaid in his Heart, I will not again curſe the Ground,* —&c.

" A LITTLE I ſhall ſay according to that little " I know.

" IN that *Noah* ſacrificed, he ſhewed him- " ſelf thankful; in that *Noah* worſhipped he " ſhewed himſelf Godly. In that he offered " clean Beaſts, he ſhewed that God is an holy " God, and that all that come to God muſt be " pure and clean. Know that we muſt by Re- " pentance purge ourſelves, which is the Work " we are to do this Day. *Noah* ſacrificed and ſo " worſhipped. This was the manner of old " Time. But what Sacrifices have we now to " offer? I ſhall anſwer by that in *Pſalm.* iv. 5. " *Offer to God the Sacrifice of Righteouſneſs, and put* " *your Truſt in the Lord.* Theſe are the true ſpi- " ritual Sacrifices which God requires at our " Hands, the Sacrifices of Righteouſneſs; that " is, we muſt look to our Hearts and Ways that " they be Righteous, and then we ſhall be ac- " ceptable to God when we worſhip him; but if " we be *unrighteous, unholy, ungodly,* we ſhall not " be accepted, our Sacrifices will be ſtark " naught.

" AGAIN, We are *to put our Truſt in the Lord.* " Who elſe is there for us to truſt in? We muſt " believe in the Word of God; if we doubt of " God, or doubt of his Word, our Sacrifices are " little worth, but if we truſt ſteadfaſtly in God, " our Sacrifices will be good.

" ONCE more, What Sacrifices muſt we " offer? My Anſwer is, we muſt offer ſuch as " *Abraham* offered; and what a Sacrifice was " that, we are told *Gen.* xxii. 12. *Now I* " *know that thou feareſt me, ſeeing thou haſt not* " *withheld thy Son thy only Son from me.* It ſeems " he

" he had but one dearly beloved Son, and he of- Anno
" fered that Son to God, and ſo God ſaid, *I* 1646
" *know thou feareſt me*, behold a Sacrifice in Deed
" and Truth! Such an one muſt we offer, on-
" ly God requires not us to offer our Sons, but
" our Sins, our deareſt Sins. God calls us this
" Day to part with all our Sins, tho' never ſo
" beloved, and we muſt not withhold any of them
" from him; if we will not part with *All*, the
" Sacrifice is not right. Let us part with ſuch
" Sins as we love beſt, and it will be a good
" Sacrifice.

GOD ſmelt a ſweet Savour in *Noah*'s Sacrifice,
" and ſo will God receive our Sacrifices, when
" we worſhip him aright: But how did God
" manifeſt his Acceptance of *Noah*'s Offering,
" it was by promiſing to drown the World no
" more, but give us fruitful Seaſons. God has
" chaſtized us of late, as if he would utterly
" drown us, and he has drowned, and ſpoiled,
" and ruined a great deal of our Hay, and threa-
" tens to kill our Cattel. 'Tis for this that we
" faſt and pray this Day; let us then offer a
" clean and pure Sacrifice as *Noah* did, ſo God
" will ſmell a Savour of reſt, and he will with-
" hold the Rain, and bleſs us with ſuch fruitful
" Seaſons as we are deſiring of him."

THE other Exhortations are of a piece with theſe, and their Prayers were no leſs Pious and Devout.

'TIS no wonder after all this, that Mr. *Eliot* was in high eſteem among the new Converts; that they conſulted him as their *Oracle* in all difficult Caſes; that they loved him as their very Lives, and would run all Hazards to ſerve him; he really deſerved well of them, for no Man ever took ſuch true Pains in the *Miſſionary* Work as himſelf; his Name therefore will be mention-

Anno 1646 ed with Honour as long as there is a *Chriſtian Indian* in the World.

WHILE Mr. *Eliot* was employed in converting the *Indians* within the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*; Mr. *Leverich* was promoting the ſame good Work in *Plimouth* Patent, and Mr. *Mayhew* in *Martha's Vineyard*, *Nantuket* and *Elizabeth Iſles*. The Worſhipful Mr. *Mayhew, Sen.* having obtained a Grant of theſe Iſlands, placed his Son Mr. *Tho. Mayhew*, a Young Man of conſiderable Learning and Piety, with a few other *Engliſh* in *Martha's* Vineyard in the Year 1642. After ſome time he accepted of the Peoples Invitation to be their Miniſter; but not being eaſy that his Labours were confined to that ſmall handful of *Engliſh* on the Iſland, he learn'd the *Indian* Language, that he might be in a Capacity of inſtructing the Natives in the Chriſtian Faith: * The firſt Convert that he made to Chriſtianity was one *Hiaccomes*, a Young Man of about 30 Years of Age: The *Engliſh* had viſited him ſeveral Times at his *Wigwam*, and invited him to come and ſee their way of living, but he was afraid of his Countrymen, who look'd upon the *Engliſh* as Enemies to their *Gods* and *Nation*; however, at length his Curioſity brought him to the Plantation on a Lord's-Day; when Mr. *Mayhew* taking notice of him invited him to his Houſe, and entertained him in an obliging and friendly Manner, diſcourſing with him concerning the Excellency of the *Chriſtian Religion* above the *Indian*, which made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that in a little time he renounced the Gods of his Country, came conſtantly to the Meeting every Lord's-Day, and to Mr. *Mayhew's*

* Mayhew's *Letter to the Corporation*, 1651. p. 3, 4.

Houſe

Houſe in the Evening to be further inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. *Anno* 1646

THE Revolt of *Hiaccomes* alarm'd the whole Iſland, and brought upon him the Contempt and Hatred of all his Acquaintance; once as he was going into one of their *Wigwams*, all the *Indians* ſet up a great Laughter at him; and *Pakoponeſſo* the Sachem, ſpoke to him after this Manner; "I "wonder that you who are a young Man, ha- "ving a Wife and two Children ſhould love the "*Engliſh* and their Ways, and forſake the *Pow-* "*aws*; what would you do if you ſhould be "ſick? Whither would you go for help? I ſay, "if I was in your Caſe, there ſhould nothing "draw me from our *Gods* and *Powaws*." *Hiaccomes* made him no Reply, but continued to viſit Mr. *Mayhew*; who taught him to read; and endeavoured to fortify him againſt the Reproaches of his Countrymen. In the Year 1645, there was a general Sickneſs all over the Iſland; but *Hiaccomes* and his Family happening to eſcape the Diſtemper, the Neighbouring *Indians* began to think how it ſhould come to paſs that he who had expoſed himſelf to ſuch Reproaches and Troubles ſhould receive more Bleſſings than themſelves, upon this they began to conceive a good Opinion of the Chriſtian Religion, and having conſulted among themſelves, they ſent a Meſſenger to *Hiaccomes*, praying him to haſten to *Myoxeo*, becauſe the *Indians* in thoſe Parts were deſirous to be acquainted with his way of worſhipping God; *Hiaccomes* went with the Meſſenger and found *Towanquatick* the Sachem, *Myoxeo* his prime Miniſter, and a great Company of *Indians* aſſembled together. *Towanquatick* prayed *Hiaccomes* to tell him what he knew concerning the *Engliſhmens* God. After which *Myoxeo* asked him how many Gods the *Engliſh* worſhipped; *Hiaccomes* replied, One; *Myoxeo* told him he had

Anno 1646 thirty ſeven Gods, and ſhall I throw them all away (ſays he) for One? *Hiaccomes* told him he had done ſo, for above theſe two Years and yet was preſerved; *Myoxeo* told him it was true, and I (ſays he) will throw away my old Gods, and put my ſelf under the Protection of yours. *Hiaccomes* acquainted the Company further with the Sin of *Adam*, and reckoned up to them ſeveral Sins of their own; he told them likewiſe of the Sufferings of Chriſt the Son of God to make Satisfaction for Sin, and left them in a very thoughtful and ſerious Diſpoſition.

SOME time after *Towanquatick* the Sachem ſent for Mr. *Mayhew*, and ſpoke thus to him, "A long "time ago we had wiſe Men, who in a grave "Manner taught the People Knowledge, but "they are dead, and their Wiſdom is buried "with them, and now Men live a giddy Life in "Ignorance 'till they are white-headed, and "tho' ripe in Years, yet then they go without "Wiſdom to their Graves." He therefore deſired in his own and his Peoples Name that Mr. *Mayhew* would ſet up a Meeting and make known the Word of God to them in their own Tongue, which Mr. *Mayhew* agreed to do once a fortnight. This Meeting was the Joy of ſome of the *Indians*, and the Deriſion of others, who ſcoffed at thoſe that went to it, but *Hiaccomes*, *Towanquatick*, and others were not aſhamed. Some time after the *Indians* ſet up a Meeting among themſelves, to diſcourſe about the New and Old Religion; and a great Number being preſent, they began to debate the Power of the *Powaws* or *Prieſts* to kill Men, many Stories being told of the great Hurt they had done to their Enemies; then the Queſtion was asked, Who is there that does not fear the *Powaws*? One of the Company ſtood up and ſaid, there is not any Man that is not afraid of the *Powaws*; the Eyes

of

of the Company being then fixed upon *Hiaccomes*, he ſtood up and defied them all, ſaying, he was very ſure that they could not kill him, becauſe he truſted in God who was above them all; *Hiaccomes* went on, and told them of their Sins, exhorting them to repent, and turn to the living God, which had ſuch an Effect, that twenty two *Indians* renounced their Idolatry at that Meeting and deſired to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. Anno 1646

THE *Powaws* were enraged at theſe Proceedings, and threatned the *Praying Indians* with Death; but *Hiaccomes* and his Friends challenged them to do their worſt, telling them that they would abide their Power in the Face of the whole Iſland: However, they did not think fit to put it to a publick Tryal at that time; but "Dr. "*Mather* tells us of a *Sachem* who,* upon his "Converſion to Chriſtianity, declared, that ha- "ving often employed his God, who appeared "to him in the Form of a *Snake* to kill, wound, "and lame ſuch whom he intended miſchief to; "he employed the ſaid *Snake* to kill, and that "failing, to wound *Hiaccomes*, but to no Purpoſe; "and having ſeriouſly conſidered the Aſſertion "of the ſaid *Hiaccomes*, that none of the *Powaws* "could hurt him, ſince his God whom he ſer- "ved was the *great God*, to whom *theirs* was ſub- "ſervient; he reſolved to worſhip the true God, "from which time during ſeven Years, the "*Snake* gave him great Diſturbance; but that he "never after his praying to God in Chriſt em- "ployed that ſaid *Snake* in any thing, and about "that time it ceaſed to appear to him."

MR. *Mayhew*'s Method of inſtructing the *Indians* was the ſame with Mr. *Eliot*'s; he Cate-

* Mather, *Book* 6. page 59.

Anno 1646 chiſed their Children, preached, prayed, and ſung Pſalms in the publick Meeting, and then anſwered their Queſtions: He conferr'd every Saturday with *Hiaccomes*, and furniſh'd him with Materials to preach to the *Indians* on the Lord's-Day, which *Hiaccomes* perform'd with great Seriouſneſs and Affection. Mr. *Mayhew* purſued his Deſign of converting the *Indians* with unwearied Application for the Space of twelve or fourteen Years, laying hold of all Opportunities to invite and perſwade them to the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, till at length intending a ſhort Voyage to *England*, in the Year 1657, he ſet ſail with Capt. *Garret* in the Month of *November*, but neither the Ship nor any of the Paſſengers were ever heard of anymore.

Mr. *Whitfield* Miniſter of *Guilford* *, *New England*, gives this Mr. *Mayhew* a very great Character, "I was an Eye-witneſs (ſays he) of the great "Pains he took, and ſeeing but a ſlender Ap-"pearance of outward Accommodations, I en-"quired of him concerning his Maintenance; "but he was modeſt and would make no Com-"plaints. However, I underſtood from others "that things were very ſhort with him, that "many times he was forced to labour with his "own Hands, having a Wife and three ſmall "Children to provide for, and not half ſo much "coming in yearly in a ſettled Way, as a Day "Labourer gets in the Country; yet he was chear-"ful among theſe ſtreights, and none ever heard "him complain; the Truth is, he would not leave "the Work in which his Heart was engaged; "for upon my Knowledge (ſays Mr. *Whitfield*,) "if he would, he might have had a more com-"petent, and comfortable Maintenance." His Talent lay in a ſweet and affable way of Conver-

* Whitfield's *Collection of Letters in Pref.* p. 2.

ſation

ſation, by which he wrought himſelf into the Affections of the *Indians*, and by that means had the eaſier Acceſs to their Minds. His Labours were attended with great Succeſs, for in the Year 1650, * he tells us, that the *Indians* flock'd to him by whole Families, deſiring *that they and their Houſes might ſerve the Lord*; that there were 8 *Powaws* and 280 adult *Indians* that had embraced the Chriſtian Faith, whereof 50 in one Day †; ſo that Mr. *Mayhew*'s Death was a publick Loſs, and the *Indian* Converts were ſo affected with it, that they could hardly hear his Name mention'd for a long time after without Tears. *Anno* 1646

MR. *Mayhew*'s Father, †† tho' no Miniſter, aſſiſted his Son with his Advice and Counſel in the Miſſionary Work; and obſerving that one great Obſtacle of the Converſion of the *Indians* was the *Prince*'s Jealouſy of an Eclipſe of his Power, and that the *Princes* in theſe Iſlands tho' abſolute over their own Subjects, yet did Homage to a certain Potent Prince on the Continent, paying him an Annual Tribute for his Aſſiſtance in their Wars; he took a proper Occaſion to let them know, that by Order of his Maſter the *King of England*, he was to govern the *Engliſh* that ſhould ſettle in thoſe Iſlands; that his Maſter was in Power far above any of the *Indian* Monarchs, but that as he was Powerful, ſo he was a great Lover of Juſtice; and therefore would not in the leaſt invade their Juriſdiction, but on the contrary aſſiſt them as need required.

WHEN the Chriſtian Religion had made ſome Progreſs in the Iſland, he perſuaded the *Sachem* to admit of the Counſel of Judicious Chriſtians, and in Caſes of more than ordinary Conſequence

* Mayhew's *Letter*, p. 31.
† *Letter to Corporation*, 1652. p. 3.
†† Mather, *Book* 6. p. 57.

of

Anno 1646 of a Jury for Trial; he offered himſelf to aſſiſt the Prince on ſuch Occaſions, but never to intermeddle without his Conſent: Thus within a fews Years a civil Government was ſettled among them, Records were kept of all Acts paſſed in their Courts, by ſuch who having learn'd to write were appointed to that Office; the *Princes* with their *Nobles* ſubmitted themſelves to the *King* of *England*, reſerving to themſelves, as ſubordinate Princes, the Right of Governing their People according to the Laws of God and the King.

THERE were ſeveral other Miniſters who deſerve an honourable Mention, for their great Pains in the Miſſionary Work, as Mr. *Eliot*'s Son, who had made himſelf Maſter of the *Indian* Language, and would have been a famous Evangeliſt, if he had not dyed in the very beginning of his Uſefulneſs. The Rev. Mr. *Richard Bourne*, who beſtowed his Labours upon the *Indians* of *Maſhippaug* in the County of *Plimouth* about 50 Miles from *Boſton*, the Rev. Mr. *Fitch* and Mr. *Pierſon*, who have been very ſucceſsful among the *Connecticut Indians*, tho' they had to do with a Prince who declared the utmoſt Averſion to them and their Religion, and Mr. *John Cotton*, Paſtor of a Church at *Plimouth*, and Son of the Rev. Mr. *Cotton* of *Boſton*, who was an indefatigable Preacher, and attended Mr. *Eliot* in ſeveral of his Viſits to the *Indians*.

IN the Year 1666, Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* attended by the Honourable Governor, and ſeveral Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Plimouth* Colony ſettled an *Indian* Church at *Maſhippaug*, under the Paſtoral Care of Mr. *Bourne*, who was then ordained to that Office: From hence they went to *Martha*'s-*Vineyard*, and Collected a Church out of the Converts of the late Rev. Mr. *Mayhew*; *Hiaccomes* was choſen their Paſtor, *John Tockinoſh* Teacher; *Joſhua Mummeecheegs*, and

John

John Nanaſo, ruling Elders, who were ordained to their ſeveral Offices. Soon after another Church was gathered at *Nantuket*, *John Gibs* an *Indian* being ordain'd their Paſtor; beſides which there were ſeveral other Aſſemblies of Praying *Indians* which were ſerved by the Engliſh Miniſters, and continued under the Character of *Catecumens*. Anno 1646

But that the Reader may form a true Idea of the State of Chriſtianity among the *Indians* at that time, and of the Progreſs of the Goſpel among them for the next 20 Years, together with their Manner of Worſhip; I have tranſcrib'd the following Letter of Dr. *Increaſe Mather*, Miniſter in *Boſton*, and Rector of the College of *Cambridge* in *New-England*, to Dr. *John Leuſden*, Hebrew-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Utrecht*.*

Worthy and much Honoured S I R,

"YOUR Letters were very grateful to me, "by which I underſtand that You and "others in your famous Univerſity of *Utrecht* de- "ſire to be inform'd concerning the converted "*Indians* in *America*. Take therefore a true Ac- "count of them in a few Words."

"It is above 40 Years ſince that truly Godly "Man Mr. *John Eliot*, Paſtor of the Church at "*Roxbury*, about a Mile from *Boſton* in *New-* "*England* being warmed with an holy Zeal of "converting the *Americans*, ſet himſelf to learn "the *Indian* Tongue, that he might more eaſily "and ſucceſsfully open to them the Myſteries of "the Goſpel; upon Account of which he has been, "(and not undeſervedly) called the *Apoſtle of the* "*American Indians*. This Reverend Perſon not "without very great Labour tranſlated the

* Cotton Mather, *Book* 3. p. 194.

"whole

Anno 1646 " whole Bible into the *Indian* Tongue. He " tranſlated alſo ſeveral *Engliſh* Treatiſes of " practical Divinity, and Chatechiſms into their " Language. Above Twenty Six Years ago he " gathered a Church of Converted *Indians* in a " Town called *Natick*; theſe *Indians* confeſſed " their Sins with Tears, and profeſſed their " Faith in Chriſt, and afterwards they and their " Children were baptized, and they were ſolemn- " ly join'd together in a Church Covenant: The " ſaid Mr. *Eliot* was the firſt that Adminiſtred " the Lord's Supper to them. The Paſtor of the " Church now is an *Indian*, his Name is *Daniel*. " Beſides this Church at *Natick*, among our In- " habitants in the *Maſſacuſets Colony*, there are " Four *Indian* Aſſemblies, where the Name of " the true God and Jeſus Chriſt is ſolemnly " called upon; theſe Aſſemblies have ſome *Ame-* " *rican* Preachers; Mr. *Eliot* formerly uſed to " preach to them once every fortnight, but now " he is weakned with Labours and old Age, being " in the 84th Year of his Age, and preacheth " not to the *Indians* oftner than once in two " Months."

" THERE is another Church conſiſting only " of converted *Indians* about fifty Miles from " hence in an *Indian* Town called *Maſhippaug*; " the firſt Paſtor of that Church was an *Engliſh-* " *man*, who being skilful in the *American* Lan- " guage, preached the Goſpel to them in their " own Tongue. This *Engliſh* Paſtor is dead, " and inſtead of him that Church has an *Indian* " Preacher."

" THERE are beſides that, five Aſſemblies of " *Indians*, profeſſing the Name of Chriſt not far " diſtant from *Maſhippaug*, which have *Indian* " Preachers: *John Cotton* Paſtor of the Church " at *Plimouth*, Son of my venerable Father in Law " *John Cotton*, formerly the famous Teacher of the

" Church

" Church at *Boſton*, has made very great Progreſs Anno
" in learning the *Indian Tongue*, and is very 1646.
" skilfull in it: He preaches in their own Lan-
" guage to the laſt five mentioned Congregations
" every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of
" *Saconet* in *Plimouth* Colony, there is a great Con-
" gregation of thoſe who for Diſtinction ſake are
" called *Praying Indians*, becauſe they pray to
" God in Chriſt: Not far from a Promontory cal-
" led *Cape-Cod* there are 6 Aſſemblies of *Heathens*,
" who are to be reckoned as *Catecumens*, amongſt
" whom there are 6 *Indian* Preachers. *Samuel*
" *Treat*, Paſtor of a Church at *Eaſtham*, preacheth
" to thoſe Congregations in their own Language.
" There are likewiſe among the Iſlanders of *Nan-*
" *tuket* a Church with a Paſtor, who was lately
" a *Heathen*, and ſeveral Meetings of *Catecumens*,
" who are inſtructed by the converted *Indians*.
" There is alſo another Iſland about ſeven Leagues
" long called *Martha's Vineyard*, where are two
" *American* Churches planted, which are more fa-
" mous than the reſt; over One of which there
" preſides an ancient *Indian* as Paſtor, called *Hi-*
" *accomes*. *John Hiaccomes* Son of the *Indian* Pa-
" ſtor alſo preacheth the Goſpel to his Countrymen.
" In another Church in that place *John Tockinoſh*
" a converted *Indian* teacheth. In theſe Churches
" ruling Elders of the *Indians* are joyned to the
" Paſtors; the Paſtors were choſen by the People,
" and when they had faſted and prayed, Mr. *Eliot*
" and Mr. *Cotton* laid their Hands upon them, ſo
" that they were ſolemnly ordained. All the
" Congregations of the converted *Indians*, (both
" the Catecumens and thoſe in Church Order) e-
" very Lord's-Day meet together: The Paſtor or
" Preacher always begins with Prayer, and *without*
" *a form, becauſe from the heart*; when the Ruler of
" the Aſſembly has ended Prayer, the whole Con-
" gregation of *Indians* praiſe God with Singing;

" ſome

Anno 1646 " ſome of them are excellent Singers. After the " Pſalm he that preaches reads a Place of Scrip- " ture (one or more Verſes, as he will) and ex- " pounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them " by Scripture and Reaſons, and infers Uſes " from them after the maner of the *Engliſh*, of " whom they have been taught; then another " Prayer to God in the Name of Chriſt concludes " the whole Service. Thus do they meet together " twice every Lord's-Day. They obſerve no Ho- " ly Days, but the Lord's Day, except upon ſome " extraordinary Occaſion; and then they ſolemnly " ſet apart whole Days either in giving Thanks, " or Faſting and Praying with great Fervour of " Mind.

" BEFORE the *Engliſh* came into theſe Coaſts, " theſe Barbarous Nations were altogether igno- " rant of the true God; hence it is, that in " their Prayers and Sermons they uſe *Engliſh* " Words and Terms; he that calls upon the moſt " holy Name of God, ſays *Jehovah*, or *God*, or " *Lord*, and alſo they have learned and borrowed " many other Theological Phraſes from us.

" IN ſhort there are 6 Churches of baptized " *Indians* in *New-England*, and 18 Aſſemblies of " *Catecumens* profeſſing the Name of Chriſt: Of " the *Indians* there are 24 who are Preachers of " the Word of God, and beſides theſe there are 4 " *Engliſh* Miniſters who preach the Goſpel in the " *Indian* Tongue. I am now my ſelf weary with " writing, and I fear leſt if I ſhould add more, I " ſhould alſo be tedious to you; yet one Thing " I muſt add, which I had almoſt forgot, that " there are many of the *Indians* Children, who " have learned by Heart the Chatechiſm either " of that famous Divine *William Perkins*, or that " put forth by the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſt-* " *minſter*, and in their own Mother Tongue can " anſwer to all the Queſtions in it.

" But

"BUT I muſt end; I ſalute the famous Pro- Anno
"feſſors in your Univerſity, to whom I deſire you 1646
"to communicate this Letter, as written to
"them alſo. Farewel, worthy Sir, the Lord pre-
"ſerve your Health for the Benefit of your
"Country, his Church, and of Learning,

Boſton in New-Eng. Yours ever,
July 12, 1687. *Increaſe Mather.*

DR. *Cotton Mather*,* the Son of *Increaſe Mather*, has brought down the Hiſtory of the *Indians* a little lower, he tells us that in the Year 1695, there were three thouſand adult *Indian* Converts in the Iſlands of *Martha's-Vineyard* and *Nantuket*; that in *Nantuket*, there were five conſtant Aſſemblies, or Meetings, ſome of which had Preachers of their own, and the reſt were under the Direction of Mr. *John Gardner*, who writes in a Letter dated *May* 17, 1694. that there were three Churches among them, two of them Congregational and one Baptiſt; and five *conſtant Aſſemblies* or *Meetings*, but that the whole Number of praying *Indians* under his Inſpection did not amount to above five hundred. Within the Liberties of *Eaſtham*, there were five hundred and five adult Chriſtian Catecumens, who had four diſtinct Aſſemblies in four Villages belonging to the Townſhip, and were ſerved by four Teachers of their own, who uſed to repair once a Week to Mr. *Treat* the *Engliſh* Miniſter, to be further inſtructed in the Chriſtian Doctrine. They had four Schools for the inſtructing their Youth in reading and writing; and ſix Juſtices of Peace for the Management of their civil Affairs; their De-

* Book. 6. page 53.

portment,

Anno 1646 portment, Converſe, and Garb was manly and laudable, and they had great Deſires of being baptiz'd.

IN the Villages of *Maſhippau*, *Sanctuit*, and *Cotuit* bordering on the Town of *Sandwich*, there were two hundred and fourteen Catecumens, who all met in one Aſſembly, and were ſometimes inſtructed by *Simon Papmonit* a Native, and at other times by Mr. *Rowland Cotton* Miniſter of *Sandwich*; Beſides theſe there were ſeveral ſmaller Aſſemblies in other Parts of the Country which the neighbouring Miniſters viſited and inſtructed; Mr. *Thomas Tupper* had a Congregation of 180 *Indians*, and Mr. *John Cotton* of *Plimouth* preached to 500 more; Mr. *Thacker* of *Milton* preached to ſome *Indians* at *Punkenagg*. Mr. *Bondet*, a *French* Miniſter, to the *Nipmug Indians*; Mr. *Rawſon* of *Mendham* to the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood, and Mr. *Daniel Gookin* to the Remains of the *Indian* Church at *Natick*, which was the firſt *Indian* Church in *America*. In the whole there were more than 30 Congregations of *Indians* in the Province of the *Maſſachuſets* alone, and many more than three thouſand Converts, who worſhipped the true God through the Mediator Jeſus Chriſt in thoſe Aſſemblies, and the Numbers were very conſiderable in other Parts of the Country.

I have now before me the Reverend Mr. *Experience Mayhew*'s Journal of his Viſitation of the *Pequot* and *Mohegin Indians*, in the Year 1713, and 1714, by which it appears that the Remains of thoſe Nations are under ſtrong Prejudices againſt the Chriſtian Religion; Mr. *Mayhew* obtained a Meeting of *Indians*, and preached them a very excellent Sermon by an Interpreter, but with little Effect: They thanked Mr. *Mayhew* for his good Will to them, but told him, they muſt take time to conſider of the Things propoſed. In his return home he paſs'd thro' the

Narhaganſet

Narrhaganſet Country, and ſent for *Ninnicraft* the *Sachem* of thoſe Parts; Mr. *Mayhew* deſired leave to preach the Goſpel to his People; but *Ninnicraft* bid him go and make the *Engliſh* good firſt; he objected further, that ſome of the *Engliſh* kept Saturday, others Sunday, and others no Day at all for the Worſhip of God; ſo that if his People ſhould have a mind to turn Chriſtians, they could not tell what Religion to be off. He added further, that Mr. *Mayhew* might try his Skill firſt with the *Pequots*, and *Mohegins*, and if they ſubmitted to the Chriſtian Religion, it may be, he and his People might follow, but they would not be firſt. He then chid Mr. *Mayhew* for hindring him from his Buſineſs, and in an angry Humour went away. Anno 1646

NEXT Year Mr. *Mayhew*, at the Requeſt of the Honourable Commiſſioners of the Society for propagating the Goſpel on the Borders made them another Viſit, and obtained a Meeting of the *Mohegs*, at which tho' the *Sachem* himſelf was not preſent, yet there was his Uncle and 4 or 5 of his Council: After Sermon Mr. *Mayhew* deſired to hear their Objections againſt the Chriſtian Religion, if they had any; upon which one of them ſtood up and ſaid; That they did believe the *Being* of a *God* and did worſhip him, but as ſeveral Nations had their diſtinct Ways of Worſhip, ſo they had theirs, and they thought their Way good, and therefore there was no Reaſon to alter it.

ANOTHER ſaid that the Difficulties of the Chriſtian Religion were ſuch as the *Indians* could not endure, their Fathers had made ſome Trial in Mr. *Fitche's* time, and had found Religion too hard for them, and therefore quitted it; and they thought themſelves no better able to bear the Hardſhips of it, than their Fathers.

Anno 1646 OTHERS of them ſaid, That ſome *Indians* that had profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion had ſoon after forſaken the *Engliſh* and join'd with their Enemies, which certainly they would not have done, if the Chriſtian Religion had been ſo excellent a thing as was pretended.

OTHERS ſaid, They could not ſee that Men were ever the better for being Chriſtians, for the *Engliſh* that were Chriſtians would cheat the *Indians* of their Land, and wrong them other Ways; and that their Knowledge of Books did but make them the more cunning to cheat others, and ſo did more hurt than good.

AS to their having their Children taught to read, which Mr. *Mayew* offer'd, they ſaid, They could not conclude upon it then, many of the Men that had Families of Children not being there to anſwer for themſelves.

AND as to their hearing Miniſters preach, ſome of them ſaid, That they had heard Mr. *Mayhew*, and were not ſenſible it had done them any hurt, and therefore it was likely they ſhould not refuſe to hear again, if any came to ſpeak to them. Mr. *Mayhew* ſpent about two Hours in anſwering their Objections; with which ſome of them ſeem'd very well ſatisfy'd.

NEXT Week about 50 *Indians* gave him a Meeting at the Meeting-Houſe in *Stoniton* with one of their *Powaws* along with them. The old Man did every thing he could to hinder the *Indians* from embracing the Chriſtian Faith. He told Mr. *Mayhew*, That if the *Indians* preſent ſhould make him any Promiſes, they could not keep them; for as ſoon as he was gone they would be drunk, and be as bad as ever. The *Engliſh* (ſaid he) pretend to teach us *Indians* to be Chriſtians; but if they will teach any, let them firſt teach their own Servants: As for my ſelf, ſaid he, I believe that there is a *God*, and I pray

pray to him in my Way, which is ſufficient; if I ſhould change my Religion in my old Age, all the young People would grin at me, and hate me.

BUT tho' Mr. *Mayhew* could not work upon the *Old Prieſt*, yet all the People, except *Skuttaub* the Sachem, declared themſelves willing to have a School for their Children, and promiſed to hear ſuch Preachers as ſhould be ſent to inſtruct them.

BUT to return to the Converts: The few *Indian* Preachers that remain among them are Men of good Capacities, and would make as good a Figure in the Pulpit as the *Engliſh*, if they would apply themſelves to Learning; but Time has convinced the *New-England* Government, that the Education of *Indian* Youth for the Miniſtry is impracticable, becauſe of their Slothfulneſs, and love of ſtrong Liquors; for which Reaſon the *Indian College* has long ſince been demoliſhed, Accommodations being reſerved in *Stoughton-Hall*, for ſuch *Indian* Youth as deſire to be admitted into the *College*, but there never has been above four or five educated there, and but one that took his Degrees; ſo that the Fatigue of preaching the Goſpel to the *Indians* lies for the moſt Part on the *Engliſh* Miniſters.

THE ſame Vices of Idleneſs and hard Drinking reign too much among the common People; For, ſays Dr. *Mather*, if they had a Diſpoſition to follow an honeſt Employment, they might thrive as well as the *Engliſh*; whereas now they are poor, mean, ragged, contemptible, and inſtead of being able to ſupport a Miniſtry amongſt themſelves, are forced entirely to rely on the *Engliſh*. They obſerve pretty well, indeed, one part of the Fourth Commandment, *To keep holy the Sabbath-Day*; but neglect the other, *Six Days ſhalt thou labour*. And as for Strong-Liquors, they are ſo fond of them, as to ſell their Lands and every thing elſe to purchaſe them; which made the

Anno 1646 Government of *New-England* pass two Laws in their Favour; *One* to prohibit the Selling them *Strong-Liquors*, the *other* to forbid the Purchasing of their Lands without the Allowance of the General Court.

THE Reader has now had before him a fair Account of the Progress of the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*, which in my Judgment is very extraordinary, considering the few Hands that were employ'd in the Work, and the immense Charge that was necessary to bring it to Perfection. It had been impossible indeed to have carried it on thus far, if the Parliament of *England* had not pass'd an Act in the Year 1649, for encouraging the propagating the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*; and for the Advancement of this Work erected a Corporation, consisting of a President, a Treasurer, and 14 Assistants, call'd by the Name of the *President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*, impowering them to receive such Sums of Money as from time to time should be collected or raised by the liberal Contribution of such whose Hearts God should incline to so glorious a Work. It was enacted further, That the Commissioners for the united Colonies of *New England* for the Time being, by themselves, or such as they should appoint, should have Power and Authority to dispose of the said Moneys, brought in and paid to the Treasurer for the Time being, or any other Moneys, Goods or Commodities, acquir'd and deliver'd by the Care of the said Corporation at any Time; whose Receipt or Receipts of such Person or Persons so authoriz'd by them, should be a sufficient Discharge to the said Corporation and Treasurer.

BY the Authority of this Act of Parliament a Collection was made in all the Parishes in *England*, which produced such a Sum of Money as enabled

enabled the *Society* to purchaſe an Eſtate in Land of between Five and Six hundred Pounds a Year. The firſt Preſident of this Corporation was Judge *Steele*, and the firſt Treaſurer Mr. *Henry Aſhurſt*; but upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second their Charter became void, and Colonel *Beddingfield*, a Roman Catholick Officer in the King's Army, of whom a conſiderable Part of the Land was purchas'd, ſeiz'd it for his own Uſe, pretending he had ſold it under the Value, in hopes of recovering it upon the King's Return. The Society met to conſider what was proper to be done in this Caſe, and agreed in the firſt Place to ſollicit the King for a new Charter, which they obtain'd, by the Intereſt of the Reverend Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Aſhurſt* with the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, at that Time. The Charter bears Date *February* the 7th, in the Fourteenth Year of his Majeſty's Reign, and declares, conſtitutes and ordains, that there be for ever hereafter within the Kingdom of *England*, *A Society or Company for Propagation of the Goſpel in* New-England, *and the Parts adjacent in* America; and accordingly appoints the following Noblemen, Gentlemen and Citizens, to be the firſt Members and Perſons whereof the ſaid Company ſhould ſubſiſt, (*viz.*) Anno 1646

Edward, Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*,
Thomas, Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High-Treaſurer,
John, Lord *Roberts*, Lord Privy Seal,
George, Duke of *Albemarle*,
James, Duke of *Ormond*,
Edward, Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold,
Arthur, Earl of *Angleſey*,
William, Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*,
Francis Warner, Alderman of *London*,
Eraſmus Smith, Eſq;
Henry Aſhurſt,

Anno 1694. *Richard Hutchinſon*,
Joſhua Woolnough,
George Clarke,
Thomas Speed,
Harman Sheaf,
James Hayes,
Lawrence Brinſley,
John Arrod,
John Docket,
Robert Boyle, Eſq;
Sir *William Thomſon*,
Sir *William Bateman*,
Sir *Anthony Bateman*,
Sir *Theophilus Biddolph*,
Sir *Lawrence Bromfield*,
Tempeſt Milner,
William Love, } Alderm.
William Peak, } of *Lond.*
Thomas Foley, Eſq;
Thomas Cox, }
John Micklethwait, } M.D.
Edmund Trench, }
Charles Doyley,
Tho Staynes,
John Jurin,
William Antrobus,
John Bathurſt,
Thomas Gillibrand,
John Benbowe,
Barnabas Mears,
Edward Boſcowen, and
Martin Noel.

THE Members of this Society are not to exceed Forty five; theſe and their Succeſſors to be hereafter choſen by the Society, are conſtituted for ever One Body corporate in Deed and Name, and are to have Continuance for ever, with ſeveral Powers and Privileges as uſual in ſuch Caſes: A Power is likewiſe given them to appoint Commiſſioners reſiding in *New-England* to tranſact all Affairs relaing to the ſaid Work in thoſe Parts. And by the ſaid Letters Patents *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; was appointed the firſt Governor of the ſaid Company.

THE Corporation being thus eſtabliſhed by Law, reſolved to attempt the Recovery of their Lands; *Beddingfield* being favoured by the Attorney General, and ſome other great Men put them to a great deal of Charge and Trouble by prolonging the Suit, but at laſt it was determined in the Court of Chancery, in Favour of the Corporation, the Chancellour declaring it as his Opinion, that *Beddingfield* had not ſo much as the Shadow of a Title to the Land,

Land, having ſold it for a valuable Conſideration, and that if there was a Forfeiture in the Caſe, it was into the Hands of the King, who had ſignify'd his Royal Pleaſure, that it ſhould be reſtored to the Corporation, and applied to thoſe good Purpoſes for which it was originally deſigned. Mr. *Baxter* has committed a conſiderable Miſtake in the Account he has given the World of *Beddingfield*'s Eſtate; for, whereas he computes * it at 7 or 800 *l. per Annum*, I am aſſur'd from the beſt Hands, that it was no more than 322 *l. per Ann.* and that the whole Revenune of the Corporation never exceeded between 5 and 600 *l. per Ann.* Their Powers are limited to *New England* and the adjacent Borders; here they maintain at preſent about twelve or ſixteen Miſſionaries, part *Engliſh*, and part *Indian*, to preach the Goſpel to the Nations, whoſe Salaries are from 10 to 30 *l. per Ann. New England* Money: They erect Schools in proper Places, and furniſh the Children with Catechiſms, Primers, Pſalters, Books of Devotion in the *Indian* Language, and with Pens, Ink, Paper, and ſometimes with Cloaths. Some of the Miſſionaries are able to preach in the *Indian* Language, but the reſt do it by an Interpreter. Anno 1646

FOR the better carrying on of this good Work, the Society have choſen Commiſſioners reſiding in *New England* to meet from time to time to make Report of the State of the *Indian* Affairs, and to diſtribute their Charity to the beſt Advantage: The Names of the preſent Commiſſioners in *New England* are:

Samuel Shute, Eſq; Governor of *New England*,
Increaſe Mather, D. D. | *John Higginſon*, Eſq;
John Foſter, Eſq; | *Edward Bromfield*, Eſq;

* Baxter's *Life*, Fol. p. 290.

Anno 1646

Eliakin Hutchinſon, Eſq;
Penn Townſend, Eſq;
Simeon Stoddard, Eſq;
Samuel Sewal, Eſq;
Cotton Mather, D. D.
The Rev. Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*,
Mr. *Daniel Oliver*,
Mr. *Thomas Fitch*,
Jonathan Belcher, Eſq;
Adam Winthrop, Eſq;
Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſq;
William Dummer, Eſq; Deputy Governour.

Upon the Deceaſe of *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; *Robert Thompſon*, Eſq; was elected Governour in his Room; and after his Deceaſe, Sir *William Aſhurſt* Knight and Alderman of the City of *London*, who is the preſent Governour, and with him are join'd the following worthy Gentlemen and Citizens, who make up the preſent Society for propagating the Goſpel in *New England*, and the Parts adjacent.

Joſeph Thompſon, Eſq; Treaſurer,
Sir *Thomas Abney*,
Mr. *Robert Aſhurſt*,
Mr. *John Gunſton*, Deputy-Treaſurer,
Mr. *Edward Richier*,
Mr. *Samuel Read*, Sen.
Earl of *Stamford*,
Sir *John Scott*,
Sir *Daniel Wray*,
Daniel Dolings, Eſq;
William Thompſon, Eſq;
John Lane, Eſq;
Sir *Juſtus Beck*, Bar^t.
Mr. *John Bridges*,
Mr. *John Morton*,
Mr. *Robert Atwood*,
Robert Clarke, Eſq;
Mr. *James Hulbert*,
Richard Chiſwell, Eſq;
Mr. *Thomas Gering*,
Sir *Peter King*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.
Mr. *Thomas Knight*,
Mr. *Arthur Martin*,
Richard Minſhall, Eſq;
Philip Papillon, Eſq;
Mr. *Henry Palmer*,
Mr. *Thomas Styles*,
Mr. *James Townſend*,
Mr. *John Jackſon*,
Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, Bar^t.
Mr. *Joſeph Thompſon*, Jun.
Mr. *Samuel Read*, Jun.
Mr. *Jeremiah Murden*,
Mr. *Samuel Sheafe*,
Mr. *Thomas Carpenter*,
Mr. *John Mitchel*.

N. B. The Order of Names in this Catalogue is according to the Order of their Election into the Society.

BUT the Expence of converting the *Indians* has not lain entirely on the Society for propagating the Goſpel in thoſe Parts, for the Churches of *Boſton* have their annual Collections for this Purpoſe; I have an Account before me of the Sums collected for propagating the Goſpel on the Borders, in the Year 1718. The *Old Church*, ſo called, becauſe 'tis the Mother Church of the Town, collected 160 *l. New England* Money: The *North Church* 90 *l.* the *South Church* 116 *l.* and the *New Church* 117 *l.* They have likewiſe a Fund of 800 or 1000 *l.* the Produce of which ſerves to promote the ſame good Deſign. Anno 1646

THE Government and Clergy of *New England* can never be too much commended for their Endeavours to civilize ſo many barbarous Nations, and bring them over to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; nor will the Gentlemen of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in *New England* be diſpleas'd to obſerve in this Narrative the Succeſs of their generous Encouragement of this good Deſign; I confeſs for my own part, that I am ſo far from wondering that no more Good has been done, that I am ſurprized to find ſo much, conſidering the Difficulties which attend ſuch an Undertaking, and the few Hands that have been employ'd in it.

THE *Miſſionaries* of the Church of *Rome* may poſſibly have gained more *Proſelytes*, but then it ought to be conſider'd that they have employ'd more Hands, and have made uſe of ſuch Methods for the Converſion of the *Indians*, as the *New-England* Miniſters could not approve of. In *Maryland* a great Crew of *Indians* ſubmitted to be baptiz'd by the *Miſſionaries* for the ſake of ſome new Shirts, which were promis'd them on that Condition; but the poor Creatures not knowing how to waſh them when foul, came after a few Weeks and demanded new Ones, or-

der'd

Anno 1645 elſe they would renounce their Baptiſm. The barbarous and cruel Methods of making Converts, which the *Spaniards* practis'd on the Southern Continent of *America*, are known to all the World, whereby in the Space of Fifty Years they murder'd as many Millions of *Indians*; and gave them ſuch a Diſguſt againſt the Chriſtian Religion, as made them declare they had rather go to Hell with their Anceſtors, than to the ſame Heaven with the *Spaniards*.

BUT after all, what ſort of Converts theirs are, the Reader may judge from the following *Queſtions* and *Anſwers* extracted out of a *Catechiſm* of one of the *Jeſuits*, employ'd by the *French* as a *Miſſionary* among the Weſtern *Indians*; 'tis written in the *Iroquoiſe* Language, and is ſaid to contain the Principles of Religion which the Heathens are to be inſtructed in: There is one Chapter about Heaven, and another about Hell; the Chapter about Heaven contains theſe *Queſtions* and *Anſwers*.

Q. *How is the Soil made in Heaven?*

A. 'Tis a very fair Soil, they want neither for Meats nor Cloths, 'tis but wiſhing and we have them.

Q. *Are they employ'd in Heaven?*

A. No. They do nothing, the Fields yield Corn, Beans, Pumkins, and the like, without any Tillage.

Q. *What ſort of Trees are there?*

A. Always green, full and flouriſhing.

Q. *Have they in Heaven, the ſame Sun, the ſame Wind, the ſame Thunder that we have here?*

A. No. The Sun ever ſhines, 'tis always fair Weather.

Q. *But how are their Fruits?*

A. In this one Quality they exceed ours, that they are never waſted: You have no ſooner pluckt one, but you ſee another preſently hanging in its Room.

The

The Chapter about Hell has theſe Queſtions among others. *Anno* 1646

Q. *What ſort of Soil is that of Hell?*

A. A very wretched Soil; 'tis a fiery Pit in the Center of the Earth.

Q. *Have they any Light in Hell?*

A. No. 'Tis always dark, there is always Smoke there, their Eyes are always in Pain with it, they can ſee nothing but the Devils.

Q. *What ſhaped Things are the Devils?*

A. Very ill ſhaped things; they go about with Vizards on, and they terrify Men.

Q. *What do they eat in Hell?*

A. They are always hungry, but the Damned feed upon hot Aſhes and Serpents there.

Q. *What Water have they to drink?*

A. Horrid Water, nothing but melted Lead.

Q. *Don't they die in Hell?*

A. No. Yet they eat one another every Day, but anon God reſtores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant in a little Time ſhoots out again.

The Catechiſm is almoſt all of a piece with this; to which if we add the Idolatrous Worſhip which the Miſſionaries of the Church of *Rome* oblige their Proſelytes to perform, their denying them the Scriptures, and making them pay a blind Obedience to the Prieſts on Pain of Damnation, we may conclude that the poor People are very little the better for their Converſion, if they were not altogether in as happy Circumſtances before.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Death and Character of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker. *The ſecond Synod of* New England. *Of their Platform of Church Diſcipline. The Separation of the* Anabaptiſts, *and their Sufferings. The Death and Character of the Reverend Mr.* John Cotton, *and of* Thomas Dudley, *and* Edward Winſlow, *Eſqrs. A large Account of the Sufferings of the* Quakers. *Of the ſeveral Laws that were made againſt them, and Of the Perſons who ſuffered, by the Execution of thoſe Laws. An Apology for the Government of* New England *with Relation to their Severities againſt the* Quakers.

Anno 1647

THE Colony of *Newhaven* met with a conſiderable Loſs at Sea this Year; they had built a new Ship at *Rhode-Iſland* of about 150 Tuns, and freighted it for *England* with the moſt valuable Effects of the Country: Five or Six of the Principal Perſons in the Colony with others of a lower Rank took their Paſſage in her: They ſet ſail in the Month of *January*, but were never heard of afterwards; the

the Ship with all the Paſſengers and lading being loſt at Sea. The People were ſo diſheartned by this Accident, that they would have broke up the Plantation, if they could have agreed upon a Place where they could have ſettled more to their Minds. Anno 1647

THERE were great Commotions among the *Indians* about this Time, which muſt have proceeded to an open Rupture, if the *Engliſh* had not kept a watchful Eye over them: *Sequaſſan*, an *Indian* Prince near *Newhaven*, had laid a Plot to aſſaſſinate the chief Magiſtrates of the neighbouring Colony, but it was diſcovered and prevented: The *Narrhaganſets* and *Mohegins* committed ſuch Inſults upon the *Engliſh* at the ſame time, as obliged the Government to demand Satisfaction of their *Segamores*, which they choſe to give, rather than run the Hazard of a War.

THE next Year the *Narrhaganſets* hired the the *Maqua's* to aſſiſt them in proſecuting their old Pique againſt *Uncas* which would have drawn the *Engliſh* Power upon them; but when they ſaw the *Engliſh* were alarm'd at their Proceedings, they deſiſted. The Year after there was a general Uproar among the *Indians*, on the Account of ſome Murders which they had committed upon certain Perſons belonging to *Newhaven* and *Long-Iſland*; the *Engliſh* immediately demanded the Murderers, whom at firſt they refuſed to deliver up, but when they ſaw that Satisfaction muſt be given, or a War declared, they yielded to pacific Meaſures, and ſo the Storm blew over. Thus the publick Peace was preſerved till the *Engliſh* had perfected their Settlements ſo far, as to put it out of the Power of all the *Indian* Nations to deſtroy them. The Miſſionaries who were appointed to convert the *Indians* to the Chriſtian Faith contributed not a little to this Work, by dividing their Strength, and getting acquainted

Anno 1647 acquainted with all their Affairs; ſo that the Savages could never form any Deſign againſt the *Engliſh*, but it was preſently diſcover'd.

THE exceſſive Heats this Summer produc'd a malignant Fever, which carried off a great many People, and among the reſt the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Paſtor of the Church of *Hertford* in the Colony of *Connecticut*: He was born at *Marfield* in *Leiceſterſhire* 1586, and was educated in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. Upon his leaving the Univerſity, he preach'd occaſionally for ſome time in *London*, till at length in the Year 1626, he was choſen Lecturer and Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Mitchel* at *Chelmsford*. Here he preached with great Succeſs for ſeveral Years, and was ſo well belov'd by the neighbouring Clergy, that when the Biſhop of *London* ſilenced him for Nonconformity, Forty ſeven of them ſigned a Petition in his Favour, teſtifying, *That Mr.* Hooker *was orthodox in Doctrine, honeſt and ſober in his Life and Converſation, of a peaceable Diſpoſition, and no ways turbulent or factious*: But it was of no Service, for Dr. *Laud* would never ſpare a Puritan, when he could lay his Hands upon him. Mr. *Hooker* therefore laid down his Miniſtry, and ſet up a Grammar School at *Little Baddo*, a Village in the Neighbourhood of *Chelmsford*. But the Biſhop's Reſentments followed him thither, inſomuch that the next Viſitation, he was cited to appear before the *High Commiſſion Court*, and becauſe he was then ſick, they obliged him to find Sureties to be bound in a Bond of 50 *l.* for his Appearance; but as ſoon as he was well, with the Conſent of his Sureties he abſconded and went to *Holland*, and they paid the 50 *l.* into Court. Mr. *Hooker* lived in *Holland* 2 or 3 Years, preaching ſometimes at *Delft*, and ſometimes at *Rotterdam*; till hearing that many of his Friends

and

and Neighbours in *Eſſex*, weary'd out with the Oppreſſions of the Spiritual Courts, were tranſplanting themſelves and their Families into *America*, he came over privately into *England*, and embark'd with them in the Year 1633. Upon his Arrival in *New England* he ſettled firſt at *Newtown*, where ſome of his Acquaintance had made a Settlement the Year before, and became their Paſtor; but the Place growing too ſtrait for them, they removed by the Encouragement of Mr. *Hooker*, in the Year 1635, to the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, and built the Town of *Hertford*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Days. Mr. *Hooker* was a Son of Thunder in the Pulpit, and having a loud Voice, expreſſed himſelf with a great deal of Warmth and Vehemence; his Miniſtry was adapted chiefly to the awakening of Sinners, and was remarkably bleſſed that Way. His natural Conſtitution inclined him to Paſſion, but he was a very great Maſter of it. Upon the whole, in the Opinion of thoſe that knew him beſt, he was a truly great and good Man, and deſerves to be called, the Father of the Colony of *Connecticut*. He publiſhed ſeveral practical Treatiſes, beſides a Survey of Church Diſcipline, in his Life time, and his Friends publiſhed ſeveral of his Sermons after his Death, which were well received in thoſe Times. He was ſeized with an Epidemical Sickneſs about Midſummer, which thro' the Heat of the Weather had proved mortal to many, and was at laſt ſo to him; he bore it with invincible Reſolution and Patience, and when Nature was ſpent, he cloſed his own Eyes, and laying his Hand on his Forehead, gave a little Groan, and expired, *July* the 7th, 1647, in the Sixty ſecond Year of his Age. Ann. 1647

THE

Anno 1648

THE *New-England* Churches had not yet agreed upon any uniform Scheme of *Diſcipline*: There had been a Bill preferr'd to the General Court in the Year 1646, for the calling a *Synod* for this Purpoſe; but the Deputies of the ſeveral Congregations not being willing to yield ſuch a Power into the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, leſt they ſhould make uſe of it ſome time or other to impoſe upon the Churches an Uniformity of Practice in things which Chriſt had left indifferent, it was dropt for a time: But the Magiſtrates inſiſting that it was certainly part of their Province to encourage Truth and Peace among the People, and allowing at the ſame time that the Determinations of the *Synod* were only to be propos'd to the Churches by way of Counſel and Advice, and not as an Injunction, they compremis'd the Difference after this manner, That the Order directed to the ſeveral Churches for ſending their Deputies ſhould be drawn up in Form of a Motion, and not of a Command. But the *Boſton* Deputies were not yet ſatisfy'd, and therefore when the Order of the Court was read to the Church on the Lord's-Day, they could not carry a Vote to ſend any Delegates to it, ſo jealous were the People of their Chriſtian Liberty, which they apprehended in danger of being invaded from this Clauſe in the Order of the Court, *That what ſhould be preſented to them by the Synod, they would give ſuch Allowance to, as ſhould be meet.* But Mr. *Norton* of *Ipſwich* preaching the next *Thurſday*'s Lecture, ſo influenc'd the Auditory, that the next Lord's-Day they agreed to ſend their Miniſter and three of their Meſſengers.

THE *Synod* met at *Cambridge* the latter End of the Year 1646, but was adjourn'd from time to time 'till the 30th of *September* 1648, when they ſat to do Buſineſs. One of the firſt things that fell under Conſideration was the *Confeſſion of Faith*

Faith lately publiſh'd by the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, which was read over Article by Article, and agreed to, *nemine Contradicente*, in the following Vote; (*viz.*) " The *Synod* having pe- " rus'd and conſider'd, with much Gladneſs of " Heart and Thankfulneſs to God, the *Confeſſion* " *of Faith*, publiſh'd by the late Reverend Aſ- " ſembly in *England*, do judge it to be very ho- " ly, orthodox and judicious, in all Matters of " Faith, and do therefore freely and fully conſent " thereunto in the Subſtance thereof: And we do " therefore think it meet that this *Confeſſion of Faith* " ſhould be commended to the Churches of Chriſt " among us, and to the Honoured Court, as wor- " thy of their due Conſideration and Acceptance. *Anno* 1648

BUT the Deſign of the *Synod* being chiefly to agree upon a Model of Church Diſcipline, they took care in one of their former Seſſions to appoint three Perſons, namely, the Rev. Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, to draw up each of them ſeparately a Model of Church Government out of the Holy Scriptures, and preſent them to the *Synod*; that the *Synod*, by comparing them carefully together, might form ſuch an one out of them, as ſhould be agreeable to the Minds of all the Churches. From theſe three Performances the Platform of Church Diſcipline which the Reader will find in the *Appendix* * was compos'd, and after many Debates, agreed unto by the Majority of the *Synod*, and preſented to the General Court, and to the Churches, for their Conſideration and Acceptance, in the Month of *October*, 1648. 'Tis not to be imagin'd that every individual Member of this Aſſembly ſhould agree to all the Articles of the *Platform*; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, they all acquieſc'd in it, and that when it was preſented to the Churches they all receiv'd

* Appendix, *Numb.* II.

Anno 1648 it. But ſince that time ſeveral Diſputes having aroſe, the preſent Set of Miniſters differ from the *Synod* in the following Articles of the *Platform*.

THE *Platform* *, Chap. IX. §. 6, and §. 7. confines the Office of a *Paſtor* to that particular Church to which he is related, and does not expreſly allow him to adminiſter the Sacraments, or act as an *Officer* in any Church but his own, nor did any of the *New-England* Miniſters venture upon this Practice for above 50 Years after; but moſt of the preſent Miniſters are of another Mind, for in an Aſſembly of the neighbouring Miniſters at *Cambridge* they declar'd it as their Judgments, That the *Paſtor* of a neighbouring Church might, at the Requeſt of a deſtitute Church, occaſionally adminiſter the Sacrament to them; and they cite the Opinions of two of the moſt learn'd Men among the *Independants* in their Favour, namely, Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Goodwin*. Dr. *Owen* ſays, "That if he did not think himſelf bound to preach as an *Authoriz'd Miniſter* "in all Places and upon all Occaſions when he "was call'd thereunto, he thinks he ſhould never "preach more in this World." And Dr. *Goodwin* ſays, "*An Elder, one ſet apart for that Office,* "*in any Church, is truly a Miniſter, occaſionally to* "*exerciſe Miniſterial Acts as he is call'd thereunto.* "*Every true Miniſter, actually ſo to his own Church,* "*is* Medium Applicabile, *a Means or an Inſtru-* "*ment, that may apply any Miniſterial Act out of* "*his own Church, in any other Church, if he be call'd* "*thereunto.*"

THE *Platform*, Chap. IX. §. 2, §. 3, and §. 4. affirms, That in every Church where there are no Elders, Impoſition of Hands for the Ordination of Elders (*i. e.* Miniſters) may be perform'd

* Mather, *B.* v. *p.* 39.

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by ſome of the Brethren, orderly choſen by the Church; tho' it allows it to be done by the Elders of other Churches, if deſir'd. But the Practice of ordaining Miniſters by the Impoſition of the Hands of the *Brethren*, is now entirely diſus'd, and the Ceremony is always perform'd by the neighbouring Miniſters. *Anno* 1648

THE *Platform*, Chap. XII. §. 5. affirms, That a perſonal and publick Confeſſion, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is lawful, expedient and uſeful.---And it is certain that all the *New-England* Churches did once ſtrictly adhere to this Article in their Admiſſion of Church Members; but of late they are come to a greater Latitude, and do not inſiſt upon its being done by the Perſon himſelf, but the Miniſter examines the Candidate in private, and minutes down his Anſwers to the Queſtions he puts to him, which he communicates to the Church for their Satisfaction at a proper Seaſon.

THE *Platform*, Chap. VII. maintains the Office of a *Ruling Elder* in the Church to be diſtinct from the Paſtoral Office, and yet moſt of the *New-England* Churches are at preſent without them; ſome not thinking it a diſtinct Office, and others not having Perſons among them duly qualify'd for the Diſcharge of it.

THESE are the moſt conſiderable Alterations that have been introduced into the Churches of *New-England* in above Seventy Years; for the *Platform* is ſtill the Rule of their Diſcipline, except in the Articles abovemention'd.

IN the Beginning of this Year dy'd *John Winthrop*, Eſq; Son of *Adam Winthrop* of *Groton* in *Suffolk*; he was born *June* 12, 1587. educated in the Law, and ſerved his Country as Juſtice of Peace before he was 20 Years old. When the *Anno* 1649

Anno 1649 Deſign of ſettling a Colony in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* was formed, he put himſelf at the Head of it, and converted his Eſtate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year into proper Materials for the Service of the Plantation. He came over with them in the Quality of *Governour* in the Year 1630, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days and all his Eſtate in their Service. He was a Man of great Piety and Moderation; patient with regard to perſonal Injuries, but very exact in the Diſtribution of publick Juſtice. Many were the Hardſhips that he ſuffer'd in common with the reſt of the People in the Infancy of the Plantation, but he bore them with invincible Conſtancy and Reſolution. His Generoſity was ſuch, that he parted with all his Proviſions for the Supply of the Poor; but ſome Years before his Death his careleſs Steward run him Twenty Five Hundred Pounds in Debt before he told him of it, for the Payment of which he was forc'd to ſell moſt of what he had left in the Country; and yet the peeviſh and froward People could hardly give him a good Word, but were ready on every Occaſion to cenſure him as the Author of all the Calamities that befel them. 'Tis no Wonder that his Conſtitution ſhould be broke by ſuch Fatigue and Hardſhip. Mr. *Winthrop* declin'd for above Seven Years before his Death; but in the Beginning of this Year he was taken with a ſlow Fever, which in a Month's time carried him off, on the 26th of *March* 1649, in the 62d Year of his Age. The Character Mr. *Cotton* gave of him in a Sermon that he preach'd on a Faſt-Day that the Church kept for his Recovery was this:

" HE was a *Governour* that has been a Friend " to counſel us: He adminiſtred Help for our " Bodies by Phyſick, and for our Eſtates by Law. " A *Governour* who has been like a Brother, not " uſurping

" uſurping Authority over the Church; often " ſpeaking his Advice, and often contradicted by " young Men, and ſome of low Degree; yet not " replying, but offering Satisfaction alſo, when " any ſuppoſed Offences have ariſen; a Gover- " nour who has been to us like a Parent diſtri- " buting his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours " at his firſt coming, and gently bearing our In- " firmities without taking Notice of them." He was ſucceeded in the Government by *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; Anno 1649

THE ſame Year the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Sheppard*, Paſtor of the Church at *Cambridge*, departed this Life: He was born *November* the 5th 1605, and educated in *Emanuel* College *Cambridge*, where he proceeded Maſter of Arts. Upon his leaving the Univerſity, he became Lecturer of *Earls Coln*, but after three Years was ſilenced by Biſhop *Laud* for Nonconformity, and forced to leave that Country. He then retired into *Yorkſhire*, but the Biſhop of that Dioceſs Dr. *Neal* would not allow him the Liberty of Preaching, without ſuch a Subſcription as his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to make. He then apply'd himſelf to Dr. *Morton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who was afraid likewiſe to ſhew him any Countenance; which made him reſolve to remove to *New-England*. He took Shipping at *Harwich* in the latter End of the Year 1634; but when they had been out at Sea but a few Hours, the Wind chopt about, and drove back the Ship into *Yarmouth Road*, where it had like to have been loſt in a Storm within Sight of Land. It was a prophane Saying of an eminent Officer, who, ſeeing the Diſtreſs they were in from the Shore, was heard to ſay, *As for that poor Collier in the Road I pity him much; but as for the Puritans in the other Veſſel bound for* New-England, *I am not concerned, for their Faith will ſave them.* How-

Anno 1649 ever at last the Ship got safe into the Harbour; but Mr. *Sheppard* was so sick of the Sea, that he deferr'd his Voyage to *New-England* 'till next Summer, when he took Shipping again from *London*, and arrived at *Boston October* 23, 1635. About the Time that Mr. *Sheppard* came to *Boston*, Mr. *Hooker* and his Congregation removed from *Cambridge* to the Banks of *Connecticut* River, which made room for Mr. *Sheppard* and his Friends in that Place, where he continued 'till his Death. He was a Person of great Piety and Industry, spending almost all his Time among his Books; and an admirable Preacher, which was one Reason, among others, why the University was erected in this Place: Besides his constant Preaching, he published several valuable Treatises, among which the most noted are his *Sincere Convert*, and *Evangelical Call*; but his excessive Labours shortned his Life, for as he was coming home from an Assembly of Ministers at *Rowly*, he was taken with a *Quinzy*, attended with a *Symptomatical Fever*, which in a few Days put an End to his Life on the 25th of *August*, and in the 44th Year of his Age.

Anno 1651 THE Separation of the *Anabaptists* from the Established Churches of the Country began last Year at *Rehoboth* in *Plimouth* Patent after this Manner *: Mr. *Obadiah Holmes*, and seven or eight more, withdrew from Mr. *Newman*'s Communion, and set up a separate Meeting, not thinking it lawful to approach the Table of the Lord with Persons whom they judg'd unbaptiz'd. Mr. *Newman* admonish'd *Holmes* of his Offence; but finding him obstinate, and not willing to give an Account of his Conduct to the Church, he excommunicated him. He was likewise ac-

* Clarke's *Narrative of the* New-England *Persecution*, London 1652, *p.* 18, 24.

cused

cuſed of Uncleanneſs, and of baptizing Mrs. *Bowdiſh* naked; but the Evidence, it ſeems, was not ſufficient to convict him of it. No ſooner was Mr. *Holmes* excommunicated, but he and two more of his Company were ſummoned to appear at the Court at *Plimouth*, where four *Petitions* were lodged againſt them, deſiring the Magiſtrates to take ſome ſpeedy Courſe to ſuppreſs the growing Schiſm: *One* was from their own Plantation ſign'd with 35 Hands, *Another* from the Church at *Taunton*, a *Third* from all the Miniſters in the Colony except two, and a *Fourth* from the Court of the *Maſſachuſets* at *Boſton* under the Secretary's Hand: Whereupon the Court charged them to deſiſt from their Separation, and neither to ordain Officers, nor to baptize, nor to break Bread together, nor to meet on the firſt Days of the Week; but *Holmes* and his Friends would make no Promiſe, but inſiſted upon the Conviction of their own Conſciences, and that it was better to obey God than Man. *Anno* 1651

SOME Time after Mr. *Clarke* of *Rhode Iſland* travelling into the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, with Mr. *Holmes* and Mr. *Crandall*, they were all three apprehended, upon the 20th of *July* this Year, at the Houſe of *William Witters* of *Lin*, as they were worſhipping God in their own Way on a Lord's-Day Morning. The Conſtable took them into Cuſtody, and in the Afternoon carried them to the publick Meeting. Mr. *Clarke* pull'd off his Hat when he went in, but as ſoon as he was ſeated in a Pew he put it on again, and fell to reading of a Book while the Miniſter was praying: The Officers took off his Hat, but he declared he could not joyn with them in their Service. Next Morning Mr. *Clarke* and his two Friends were brought before the Magiſtrate of the Town, who ſent them in Cuſtody to *Boſton* with the following *Mittimus*.

Anno 1651

"BY Virtue hereof you are required to take "into your Cuſtody from the Conſtable "of *Lin*, or his Deputy, the Bodies of *John* "*Clarke*, *Obadiah Holmes* and *John Crandall*, and "them to keep until the next County Court to "be held at *Boſton*, that they may then and there "anſwer to ſuch Complaints as may be alleged "againſt them, for being taken by the Conſtable "at a private Meeting at *Lin* on the Lord's-"Day exerciſing among themſelves, to whom "divers of the Town repaired and joyned with "them, and that in the Time of publick Exer-"ciſe of the Worſhip of God; as alſo for offen-"ſively diſturbing the Peace of the Congrega-"tion at their coming into the publick Meeting "in the Time of Prayer in the Afternoon, and "for ſaying and manifeſting that the Church of "*Lin* was not conſtituted according to the Or-"der of our Lord, and for ſuch other Things "as ſhall be alleged againſt them concerning "their ſeducing and drawing aſide of others "after their erroneous Judgment and Practices, "and for Suſpicion of having their Hands in "rebaptizing of one or more among us, as alſo "for neglecting or refuſing to give in ſufficient "Security for their Appearance at the ſaid "Court. Hereof fail not at your Peril." *

22d of the 5th Month, 1651. *Robert Bridges.*

To the Keeper of the Priſon at Boſton.

ABOUT a Fortnight after, the Court fined *John Clarke* Twenty Pounds, or to be well whipt; *John Crandall* Five Pounds, or to be whipt; and

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* Clarke's *Narrative of the* New-England *Perſecution*, London 1652, *p.* 4, 5.

Obadiah

Obadiah Holmes Thirty Pounds, for their ſeveral Offences. The Reaſons of their Sentence, beſides thoſe mentioned in the *Mittimus*, are theſe: Anno 1651

" Becauſe the ſaid *John Clarke* did the next Day, " after his Contempt of the publick Worſhip on " the Lord's-Day, meet again at the Houſe of " *Witters*, and in Contempt of Authority, being " then in the Cuſtody of the Law, did there " adminiſter the Sacrament of the Lord's-Sup- " per to *one* excommunicated Perſon, to *another* " under Admonition, and to *a third* that was " an Inhabitant of *Lin*, and not in Fellowſhip " with any Church; and yet upon Anſwer in " open Court did affirm that he never rebaptized " any, tho' he confeſſed that he did baptize ſuch " as were baptized before, and thereby did ne- " ceſſarily deny the Baptiſm that was before to " be Baptiſm, the Churches no Churches, and " alſo all other Ordinances and Miniſters, as if " all were a Nullity; and alſo did in the Court " deny the Lawfulneſs of baptizing of Infants: " All this tends to the Diſhonour of God, the " Deſpiſing the Ordinances of God among " us, the Peace of the Churches, and ſeducing " the Subjects of the Commonwealth from the " Truth of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and per- " verting the ſtrait Ways of the Lord: Where- " fore the Court fines you Twenty Pounds, to " be paid, or ſufficient Sureties that the ſaid " Sum ſhall be paid, by the firſt Day of the " next Court of Aſſiſtants, or elſe to be well " whipt; and that you ſhall remain in Priſon " 'till it be paid, or Securities given in for it."

Encreaſe Nowell.

WHEN Mr. *Clarke* was upon his Trial, the Court offered him a Conference with any of their Miniſters, in order to remove his Scruples about

Anno 1651 about the Lawfulneſs of Infant Baptiſm, which he looking upon as a Challenge to a publick Diſputation ſent them the following Letter *.

To the Honour'd Court aſſembled at *Boſton*.

WHEREAS it hath pleas'd this Honour'd Court, yeſterday to condemn the Faith and Order which I hold and practice, and after you had paſs'd your Sentence upon me for it, were pleas'd to expreſs, I could not maintain the ſame againſt your Miniſters, and thereupon publickly profer'd me a Diſpute with them, be pleas'd by theſe few Lines to underſtand, I readily accept it, and therefore do deſire you to appoint the Time when, and Perſon with whom, in that publick Place where I was condemned, I might with Freedom, and without Moleſtation of the Civil Power, diſpute that Point publickly.

John Clarke.

THE Noiſe of this Diſputation quickly ſpread all over the Country; for Mr. *Clarke* writ Letters to ſeveral of his Friends, acquainting them with it, and deſiring their Aſſiſtance; but the Court reſented his Behaviour, and would not comply with his Requeſt, till he had firſt agreed to ſome Preliminaries: They denied that they had challenged him at all to a publick Diſputation, or ever intended it, and therefore that he miſrepreſented the Governour's Speech; but then they add in the cloſe of their Letter directed to him in Priſon, and ſign'd by five of the chief Magiſtrates, theſe Words: "Nevertheleſs, if you "are forward to diſpute, and that you will move "it yourſelf to the Court, or the Magiſtrates "about *Boſton*, we ſhall take Order to appoint

* Clarke's *Narrative*, &c. p. 7.

"One,

" One, who ſhall be ready to anſwer your Mo- Anno
" tion, you keeping cloſe to the Queſtions to be 1651
" propounded by your ſelf; and a Moderator
" alſo ſhall be appointed to attend upon that
" Service, and whereas you deſire you might
" be free in your Diſpute, keeping cloſe to the
" Points to be diſputed on, without incurring
" Damage by the civil Juſtice, obſerving what
" hath been before written, it is granted; the
" Day may be agreed, if you yield the Pre-
" miſſes †."

THESE were certainly very fair Conceſſions, and as much as could be expected from the Legiſlature of a Country to a private Man, but Mr. *Clarke* not being willing (as he ſaid) to be thought forward to diſpute, declined the Invitation, and upon this Punctilio it was drop'd.

THE *Priſoners* agreed not to pay their Fines, but to abide the corporal Puniſhment the Court had ſentenced them to, but ſome of Mr. *Clarke*'s Friends paid his Fine, without his Conſent, and *Crandall* was releas'd upon his Promiſe to appear at the next Court; but *Holmes* received thirty Laſhes at the Whipping-poſt: Several of his Friends were Spectators of his Puniſhment, among the reſt *John Spur* and *John Hazell*, who as they were attending the Priſoner back to Priſon, took him by the Hand in the Market-place, and in the Face of all the People, praiſed God for his Courage and Conſtancy; for which they were ſummon'd before the General Court the next Day, and fined each of them 40*s.* or to be whipt: The Priſoners refus'd to pay the Money, but ſome of their Friends doing it for them, they were diſmiſſed, and ſo they return'd to *Rhode Iſland*.

† Clarke's *Narrative*, &c. *p.* 12.

THUS

Anno 1646 THUS the Government of *New England* for the Sake of Uniformity in divine Worſhip, broke in upon the natural Rights of Mankind, puniſhing Men, not for diſturbing the State, but for their differing Sentiments in Religion, as appears farther from the following Law, which was enacted on this Occaſion.

"IT is ordered by this Court and Authority "thereof, that if any Perſon or Perſons within "this Juriſdiction ſhall either openly condemn "or oppoſe the baptizing of Infants, or go about "ſecretly to ſeduce others from the Approbation "or Uſe thereof, orſhall purpoſely depart the Con-"gregation at the Adminiſtration of that Ordi-"nance, or ſhall deny the Ordinance of Magi-"ſtracy, or their lawful Right or Authority to "make War, or puniſh the outward Breaches "of the firſt Table, and ſhall appear to the Court "wilfully, and obſtinately to continue therein af-"ter due Means of Conviction every ſuch Perſon "or Perſons ſhall be ſentenced to Baniſhment.†" But neither this, nor ſome other penal Laws made againſt Sectaries, could prevent the Growth of Anabaptiſm, as the Reader will ſee hereafter.

DR. *Mather* * ſays, that this Separation of the *Anabaptiſts*, was a manifeſt Violation of the Laws of the Commonwealth concerning the orderly gathering of Churches, which provide "That "no Company of Men ſhall join in any pre-"tended Way of Church Fellowſhip, unleſs "they ſhall acquaint the Magiſtrates and El-"ders of the neighbouring Churches, and have "their Approbation therein." Which (by the Way) condemns all the Diſſenting Congregations that have been gathered in *England* ſince the Act of Uniformity in the Year 1662. The Dr. complains further of the Anabaptiſts admitting into their Society ſuch as the eſta-

bliſh'd

† Clarke's *Narrative*, &c. *p.* 35. * *B.* vii. *p.* 27.

bliſh'd Churches of the Country had excommunicated for Immoralities; and of their preferring them to be Adminiſtrators of the Sacrament among them: He blames their Uncharitableneſs in declaring *Infant Baptiſm* to be no *Baptiſm*; in unchurching all other Societies of viſible Chriſtians except thoſe of their own Perſuaſion; and of their chooſing *Shoemakers*, *Taylors*, and the moſt illiterate Perſons, for their Paſtors and Teachers; nay he draws the Riſe of the Separation from hence, "That "ſome Men having privately exercis'd their "Gifts in Meetings with Applauſe, began to "think themſelves wronged that their Light "was put under a Buſhel, and finding no Remedy "in other Churches, they threw on a Cloak "of *Anabaptiſm*, and ſo gain'd the Thing they "aimed at in Diſguiſe." He confeſſes indeed that the *New England* Churches gave ſome Provocation on their Side, by their Miniſters paſſing ſevere Cenſures on thoſe of that Perſuaſion that went out of the Church when Infants were brought into the Congregation to be baptiz'd, which exaſperated them to ſuch a Degree, that they withdrew wholly from the Communion of the Church, and ſet up for themſelves. But let the Reader judge, Who had moſt Reaſon to complain? The *New England* Churches, who would neither ſuffer the Baptiſts to live quietly in their Communion, nor ſeparate peaceably from it? Or, Theſe unhappy Perſons, who were treated ſo unkindly for following the Light of their Conſciences? *Anno* 1652

TOWARDS the latter End of this Year died famous Mr. *John Cotton*, B. D. one of the Miniſters of the Church at *Boſton*: He was born at *Derby*, *December* the 4th, 1585, and at the Age of Thirteen Years admitted into *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, where he ſtudied for ſome Years, but 1652

Anno 1632 but was afterwards removed to *Emanuel-College*, where he proceeded *Maſter of Arts*, *Batchelor of Divinity*, and *Fellow of the College*. Upon his leaving the Univerſity he was choſen Miniſter of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*; but had not been there above three Years before he began to entertain Scruples about Conformity to ſome of the Ceremonies of the Church, and at laſt reſolved not to comply with them; however being a peaceable Man, and beloved by all his Pariſhioners, he made aſhift to keep his Place for almoſt Twenty Years, 'till the Government of the Church was put into the Hands of Biſhop *Laud*. He was then informed againſt by a debauched Fellow of the Town, who to be revenged of the Magiſtrates, for puniſhing him according to his Deſerts, ſwore in the High Commiſſion Court at *London*, That neither the Miniſter nor Magiſtrates of the Town of *Boſton* kneeled at the Sacrament, nor obſerved ſome other Ceremonies of the Church. Upon this Letters Miſſive were ſent down to bring Mr. *Cotton* before the Commiſſioners, but he was ſo wiſe as not to deliver himſelf up into their Hands, but left the Town, and travelled to *London* in Diſguiſe. Great Interceſſions were made for him to the Archbiſhop by the Earl of *Dorſet* and others, but in vain. The Earl ſent him Word, "That if he had been "guilty of Drunkenneſs or Uncleanneſs, he "might have had Favour; but the Sin of *Puri-* "*taniſm* was unpardonable." Upon this he reſolved to leave his Native Country and ſettle in *New-England*. He took Shipping the Beginning of *July*, 1633. and arrived at *Boſton* the 3d of *September* following: When he had been a Month out at Sea, his Wife fell in Labour, and was delivered of a Son, who, from the Place of his Nativity, was called *Seaborn Cotton*. Soon after his coming aſhore he was made Fellow-Labourer with

with Mr. *Wilſon* in the Church at *Boſton*; which was a great Advantage to the Town, for it was owing in part to his Wiſdom and Influence that it flouriſhed ſo faſt in Trade and Shipping as to outſtrip its Neighbours, and in a few Years become the *Capital* of the whole Province. When the Epiſcopal Power began to fall in *England*, about the Year 1642, ſome of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament writ to him, and preſſed his Return to his Native Country; but being now in Safety, he was not willing to venture out again into a Storm: He therefore continued at *Boſton* to his Death. He was a Man of great Reputation in both *Englands*: While he was Miniſter of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, he was highly eſteemed by Archbiſhop *Williams*, Doctor *Preſton*, the Earls of *Dorceſter* and *Lindſey*, and ſeveral other Noblemen, for his incomparable Parts. When the Archbiſhop juſt mentioned was in Favour at * Court, he procured Mr. *Cotton* a Toleration under the Broad-Seal for the free Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, notwithſtanding his diſſenting in Ceremonies, ſo long as done without Diſturbance to the Church; but when he fell into Diſgrace Mr. *Cotton*'s Patent could not skreen him. His Reputation was no leſs conſiderable all over *New-England*, where he was eſteemed the Oracle of the Country. He was certainly a Man of very great Learning, and ſo well acquainted with the *Hebrew Language*, that he could diſcourſe in it. He publiſhed ſeveral *Controverſial* and *Practical* Writings, the chief of which was his *Diſcourſe of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, which was a maſterly Piece for the Time in which it was writ; but his chief Talents were for the Pulpit, where he behaved

Anno 1652

* Fuller *Book* xi. *p.* 228.

himſelf

Anno 1652 himſelf with ſuch Gravity and Decency, as ſtruck his Audience with Admiration and Awe: He made uſe of no *Latin* Sentences in his Sermons, no obſolete School Phraſes, as was the Faſhion of thoſe Times, but ſpoke to the Capacity of the Meaneſt of his Hearers. He was a Perſon of great Modeſty and Good Nature, and tho' he was often affronted by angry Men, he never expreſſed any Reſentments. Once a conceited, ignorant Mechanick followed him home after Sermon, and told him with a Frown, That his Miniſtry was become dark or flat: To which he reply'd, *Both Brother, it may be both; let me have your Prayers that it may be otherwiſe.* Another time he was aſſaulted in the Street by an impudent Fellow, who call'd him an old Fool: Mr. *Cotton* reply'd, *I confeſs I am ſo; the Lord make thee and me wiſer than we are, even wiſe to Salvation.* His Life was full of Acts of Piety and Charity; and if his Conſtitution had not been very firm, he could not have gone thro' ſo many Labours and Toils as the Circumſtances of his Affairs requir'd: But at laſt he found himſelf decaying, his Voice fail'd, he became *Aſthmatical*, and a Complication of Diſtempers threatned his Death; ſo he ſet his Houſe in Order, and having taken a ſolemn Leave of the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the Colony, who came to viſit him in his Sickneſs, he dy'd on the 23d of *December*, in the 68th Year of his Age, and was interr'd with great Honour and Solemnity.

Anno 1652 NEXT Year dy'd the Honourable *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; ſome Time Governor of the Colony of the *Maſſachuſets*: He was born at *Northampton*, 1574. and was deſign'd for the Law, but being a briſk, active young Gentleman, Queen *Elizabeth* gave him a Captain's Commiſſion, and ſent him at the Head of a Company of Foot into the Service of *Henry* the IVth of *France*

France, in the *Low-Countries:* But a Peace being made ſoon after between the *French* and *Spaniard*, Capt. *Dudley* returned to *Northampton*, and by Converſation with Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Cleaver*, and Mr. *Winſton*, became a *Non-conformiſt*. After this he entred into the Service of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and was his Steward about 9 or 10 Years; but being a *Puritan*, and not willing to conform to the Ceremonies of the Church, he left the Earl's Service, and went over to *New-England* with the firſt Colony in the Year 1630, in Quality of Deputy-Governor. Having been a military Man, he was choſen Major-General of the Colony, and was very inſtrumental in keeping the Peace at a Time when the Government was diſturbed by Perſons of *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical* Principles. He was ſeveral times choſen Governor of the Colony; and after a long and uſeful Life, died in Peace at his Houſe in *Roxbury*, *July* the 31ſt, in the 77th Year of his Age, being ſucceeded in his Government by Mr. *John Endicott*. *Anno* 1653

MR. *Henry Dunſtar* reſigned his Place of Preſident of *Harvard* College about this time. The Overſeers were uneaſy becauſe he had declared himſelf an *Anabaptiſt*, fearing leſt he ſhould inſtill thoſe Principles into the Youth that were under his Care; but the *Preſident* no ſooner underſtood their Minds, but he freely reſigned his Charge, and retired to *Scituate*, where he ſpent the Reſt of his Days in Peace. He was an excellent Scholar, and a modeſt, humble, charitable Man, as appears by his laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein he ordered his Body to be buried at *Cambridge*, and bequeathed Legacies to thoſe very Perſons who had been the Authors of his Removal out of his Place. He died in the Year 1659, and was ſucceeded by the Rev. Mr. *Charles Chauncy*, who governed the College with univerſal Applauſe *Anno* 1654

Anno 1654 for a great many Years, tho' ſoon after his Advancement there was a great Diſturbance among ſome of the Scholars, who, thinking themſelves put under a Hardſhip, by being obliged to loſe part of a Year of their Time upon which depended their Degrees, left the College to the Number of Seventeen, without waiting for any Degree at all.

Anno 1655 THIS Year the Honourable *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; ſome Time Governor of *Plimouth* Colony, died: He was the Son of *Edward Winſlow*, of *Draughtwich* in the County of *Worceſter*, Eſq; Travelling into the *Low-Countries*, he joyned himſelf to Mr. *Robinſon*'s Church at *Leyden*, and came over to *New-England* with the firſt Detachment, in the Year 1620. He was many Years Governor of *Plimouth* Colony, and made ſeveral Voyages to *England* as their Agent. In the Year 1646 the *Maſſachuſet* Colony choſe him their Agent, and ſent him to the Court of *England* upon very important Affairs, which he diſpatched with great Fidelity and Succeſs, but never returned to *New-England* any more; for the Parliament finding him an able Stateſman employed him in ſeveral important Truſts, and at laſt ſent him at the Head of an Expedition to *Hiſpaniola*, which not ſucceeding according to his Deſires, he died of Grief between *Domingo* and *Jamaica*, *May* the 8th, 1655, and had his Body honourably committed to the Sea.

Anno 1656 ABOUT a Twelvemonth after died old valiant Capt. *Standiſh*, as brave a Soldier as ever ſet Foot on *New-Engliſh* Ground. He was born in *Lancaſhire*, and was Heir apparent to a good Eſtate, but being fraudulently deprived of it, he went for a Soldier into the *Low-Countries*, and after ſome Time falling into Acquaintance with ſeveral of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Church at *Leyden*, joyned with them in the Deſign of making a Settlement in *New-England*.

He

He came over with the firſt Colony, and had a deep Share in all the Hardſhips and Difficulties they ſuffered. He was ſent out upon ſeveral daring Enterprizes againſt the *Indians*, and others, and did Wonders with an Handful of Men. At laſt, when he was no longer capable of ſerving his Country in the Field, he retired to *Duxbury*, and there died of the Stone in an advanced Age. *Anno* 1656

THE Government of *New-England*, had no ſooner cruſhed the *Anabaptiſts*, but the *Quakers* roſe up and diſturbed the Peace of the Country. The Magiſtrates proceeded againſt them, as againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, by Fines, Impriſonment, Whipping, *&c.* but theſe not proving effectual, they ventured at laſt to put three or four of them to Death. This Affair having made a great Noiſe in the World, I'll endeavour to relate it with the greateſt Impartiality; and when the Reader has conſidered the whole Account, with the Reaſons of the Magiſtrates for their Proceedings, as they lie together in this Chapter, let him judge of it as he pleaſes.

THE firſt Appearance of the People call'd *Quakers* in the World, was in the North of *England*, about the Year 1644, but they were not diſtinguiſh'd by any particular Name till the Year 1650. At their firſt ſetting out they were a wild, enthuſiaſtick Sort of People, having no conſiſtent Scheme of Religion, but what aroſe from the ſtrong Impulſes of their own Minds: Hence they cried down a Regular Miniſtry, and rail'd againſt all ſuch as Hirelings, Prieſts of *Baal*, and Deceivers of the People, they diſturbed them in their publick Adminiſtrations, and frequently went about Streets in an indecent manner, denouncing Judgments and Calamities on the Nation; nay, ſo violent were their Impreſſions at laſt, that ſome of them imagined them-

Anno 1656 ſelves called of God, to leave their Families and Employments, and travel into foreign Countries, to convert the *Pope*, the *Turk*, and all the Nations of the World. With this View ſome of them came over to *New England*, and ſettled among the *Antinomians* in *Rhode Iſland*, from whence they ſpread themſelves over *Plimouth* Colony, and were "unhappily ſucceſsful (ſays Dr. *Mather*) "in ſeducing the People, not only to attend to the myſtical Diſpenſation of the Light "within, as having the whole of Religion contained in it, but alſo to oppoſe the good "Order, both civil and ſacred, erected in the "Colony. *"

THE firſt *Quakers* that came into the *Maſſachuſet* Colony were *Mary Fiſher* and *Ann Auſtin*, who arrived † at *Boſton* from *Barbadoes* in the Beginning of *July*, 1656, and about a Month after eight more arrived from *Rhode Iſland*, namely, *Chriſtopher Holder*, *Thomas Thirſtone*, *William Brend*, *John Copeland*, *Mary Prince*, *Sarah Gibbons*, *Mary Weatherhead*, and *Dorothy Waugh*. Upon the Arrival of the two firſt, Notice was immediately ſent to the Governour, who ordered them to be ſecured, and about one hundred Books and Pamphlets, which they brought with them, to be burned. The Women were brought aſhoar, put into cloſe Priſon, and examined by proper Perſons for Tokens of Witchcraft. The Governour called his Council together upon this extraordinary Occaſion, who came to the following Reſolutions.

Firſt, "THAT all ſuch corrupt Books as ſhall "be found upon Search to be brought in, and "ſpread by *Mary Fiſher* and *Ann Auſtin* ſhall be "forthwith burn'd and deſtroy'd by the common "Executioner.

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* *B.* vii. *p.* 22. † Biſhop's New-England *judg'd*, *p.* 3.

Secondly,

Secondly, " That the ſaid *Mury* and *Anne* be " kept in cloſe Priſon, and none admitted Com- " munication with them without Leave from " the Governour, Deputy Governour, or any " two Magiſtrates, to prevent the Spreading of " their corrupt Opinions, till ſuch time as they " be delivered by Authority on board ſome Veſ- " ſel to be tranſported out of the Country. Anno 1656

Thirdly, " That *Simon Kempthorne* do ſpeedily " tranſport, or cauſe to be tranſported the ſaid " Perſons to *Barbadoes* from whence they came, " he defraying all the Charges of their Impriſon- " ment, and for Performance thereof to give " Security to the Secretary, in a Bond of One " hundred Pounds, and upon Refuſal to be " committed to Priſon till he do it."

ACCORDINGLY theſe two Women after about a Month or five Weeks Confinement, were ſent out of the Country, by the Return of the ſame Ship that brought them; the other eight were impriſoned after the ſame Manner, and at length ſent out of the Country; but the ſame Spirit that brought them firſt to *New England*, ſoon moved them to return, and propagate their Opinions, in Defiance of all the Laws that were made againſt them.

THE Deſign of the Magiſtrates in coming to theſe Reſolutions againſt the *Quakers*, was to keep them out of the Country, imagining, that none of their own People had as yet received any of their Opinions, tho' in this they were miſtaken, as will appear preſently: However with this View the following ſevere Laws were enacted by a general Court held at *Boſton*, *October* 14, *1656*.

" That if any Maſter or Commander of any " Ship, Bark, &c. ſhall henceforth bring into " any Harbour, *&c.* within this Juriſdiction, any " Quaker or Quakers, —— he ſhall pay or cauſe

Anno 1656 " to be paid the Sum of One hundred Pounds to " the Treaſurer of the Country.——That what " Quaker ſoever ſhall arrive in this Country from " foreign Parts, or Parts adjacent, ſhall be forth- " with committed to the Houſe of Correction, " and at their Entrance to be ſeverely whipt, " and by the Maſter thereof to be conſtantly kept " at work, and none ſuffer'd to ſpeak, or converſe " with them. —— If any Perſon ſhall knowingly " import any Quakers Books, or Writings con- " cerning their Deviliſh Opinions, he ſhall pay " for every ſuch Book, or Writing five Pounds; " and whoſoever ſhall diſperſe, or conceal any " ſuch Book or Writing, and it be found with " him or her, ſhall forfeit and pay five Pounds. —And that if any Perſons within this Colony " ſhall take upon them to defend the heretical " Opinions of the ſaid Quakers, or any of their " Books, &c. they ſhall be fined for the firſt Time " Forty Shillings; if they ſhall perſiſt in the " ſame, and ſhall again defend them, the ſecond " Time, Four Pounds—— if they ſhall again ſo " defend, they ſhall be committed to the Houſe " of Correction 'till there be convenient Paſſage " to ſend them out of the Land, being ſentenced " by the Court of Aſſiſtants to Baniſhment. " *

THESE Laws being proclaimed by Beat of Drum in the Streets of *Boſton*, *Nicholas Upſhal*, an ancient Man of about 60 Years of Age, came out of his Houſe, and in a publick Manner told the Officers, That the Proſecution of thoſe Laws would be the Forerunner of Judgment on the Country; and therefore deſired them to take heed what they did, leſt they ſhould be found fighting againſt God. This was looked upon as an Attack upon the Legiſlature, which might

* J. Whiting's *Anſwer to* Cotton Mather, *p.* 14.

be

be attended with fatal Conſequences; for if People might arraign the Laws of their Country in ſuch an open Manner, the Authority of the Government would quickly be deſtroyed. *Upſhal* was therefore ſummoned to appear before the General Court next Morning, and not acknowledging his Offence, was fined Twenty Pounds, and ordered to depart the Juriſdiction within the Space of a Month; and that if he returned, he ſhould be kept cloſe Priſoner 'till he acknowledged his Fault. *Anno* 1656

BUT the firſt that ſuffered by the forementioned Laws was *Mary Clarke*, Wife of *John Clarke*, of *London*, Taylor, who left her Husband and ſix Children to bring a Meſſage from the Lord to *New-England*. She arrived in the Month of *Auguſt*; and having delivered her Meſſage, was ſent to the Houſe of Correction, where ſhe received Twenty Stripes, and was then turned out of the Juriſdiction. The next were *Chriſtopher Holder* and *John Copeland*, who being returned to *New-England* ſince their late Baniſhment, and attempting to ſpeak to the People in the Meeting-Houſe at *Salem* after Sermon, were ſent to the Houſe of Correction, where they received Thirty Stripes a-piece, and after Nine Weeks Impriſonment were once more ſent out of the Country. 'Tis uncertain how long theſe *Quakers* had been at *Salem*, but it began now to appear that ſeveral of the Inhabitants of that Place had embraced their Principles, by their abſenting from the publick Worſhip, and ſetting up private Meetings of their own on the Firſt Day of the Week; nor is this to be wondred at, ſince that Town had ſhown ſo ſtrong an Inclination to Enthuſiaſtical Doctrines but a few Years before: However theſe private Meetings of *Friends* were quickly broke up; the Perſons that were preſent at them were fined Five Shillings a *Anno* 1657

Anno 1657 Head for abſenting from publick Worſhip, and their Teachers were ſent to the Houſe of Correction at *Boſton*; but there was hardly a Man baniſhed the Juriſdiction by Virtue of theſe Laws, but returned again in a few Months, animated with new Zeal for the propagating his Opinions.

THE Government being alarmed at theſe Proceedings of the *Quakers*, proceeded to farther Severities againſt them, and at their next General Court in *October* paſſed a Law *, which enacted, " That whoſoever ſhould bring any " *Quaker* into their Juriſdiction ſhould forfeit " One Hundred Pounds to the Country, and " be committed to Priſon, there to remain 'till " the Penalty ſhould be ſatisfied.---- And whoſo- " ever ſhould entertain or conceal any *Quaker* or " *Quakers*, knowing them ſo to be, every ſuch " Perſon ſhould forfeit to the Country Forty " Shillings for every Hour's Entertaining or Con- " cealment, and be committed to Priſon 'till the " Forfeiture ſhould be fully paid and ſatisfied. " And further, That all and every of thoſe Peo- " ple that ſhould ariſe among themſelves, ſhould " be dealt withal, and ſuffer the like Puniſhments, " as the Laws provide againſt thoſe that come " in, which was, That for the firſt Offence (or " coming in) after they had once ſuffered what " the Law requireth, if a Male, one of his Ears " ſhould be cut off, and he kept at Work in the " Houſe of Correction 'till he could be ſent " away on his own Charges; and for the ſecond " Offence his other Ear ſhould be cut off, and " he kept in the Houſe of Correction as afore- " ſaid: If a Woman, then to be ſeverely whipt, " and kept as aforeſaid as the Male for the firſt

* New-England *judged*, p. 63.

" Offence;

" Offence; and for the ſecond ſhe ſhall be alike " uſed as aforeſaid: And for every *Quaker*, he " or ſhe that ſhall a third Time offend, they " ſhall have their Tongues bored through with " an hot Iron, and be kept at the Houſe of Cor- " rection to Work 'till they be ſent away at their " own Charge. " Anno 1657

I DO not find above three *Quakers* that loſt their Ears by this Law, namely, *Holder*, *Copeland* and *Rouſe*, who having been ſent out of the Juriſdiction once and again, were apprehended, the two former at *Dedham*, and the other at *Boſton*. They were immediately carried before the Governor, and acknowledging themſelves to be the Perſons that were formerly baniſhed, were ſentenced to have each of them their Right Ear cut off by the Hangman, which was accordingly executed within the Priſon of *Boſton*, *Sept.* 16, 1658.

IN the midſt of theſe Troubles died *William Bradford*, Eſq; Second Governor of *Plimouth* Colony: He was born in an obſcure Village called *Anſterfield* in *Yorkſhire*, in the Year 1588. The Converſation and Miniſtry of Mr. *Clifton*, under whom he was educated, made him a *Nonconformiſt*; but the Severity of the Biſhops not allowing him the Liberty of his Conſcience at Home, he tranſported himſelf with ſome of his Acquaintance into *Holland*, and ſettled with the *Browniſt* Church at *Amſterdam*, where he lived ten Years: But when the Expedition for *New-England* was ſet on Foot he left *Amſterdam*, and embarked with that Part of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation at *Leyden*, which made the firſt Settlement in thoſe Parts. Upon the Death of Mr. *Carver* he was unanimouſly choſen Governor of the Infant Colony in the Year 1621. and continued in that Poſt with very little Intermiſſion 'till his Death. He was a Gentleman of a very noble and gene-

rous

Anno 1657 rous Spirit, laying aſide all private Views, when they ſtood in Competition with the publick Good of the Country, as appears by this Example: When the Crown of *England* gave the Colony of *Plimouth* a Patent for their Lands, the Patent was drawn in the Name of *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Aſſociates and Aſſigns, which gave him the Propriety of the whole Country; but when the Number of Freemen was conſiderably encreaſed, and ſeveral new Towns erected, the General Court deſired Mr. *Bradford* to ſurrender up the Patent into their Hands, which he generouſly did, and confirmed it with his Hand and Seal, reſerving no more for himſelf than what was his Proportion with others by Agreement. This endeared him ſo much to the People, that they choſe him in a manner Governor for Life. He was a Perſon of excellent Temper, as appeared by his admirable Management of the peeviſh and froward Humours of the People, under the inexpreſſible Hardſhips they ſuffered the firſt three or four Years of their Settlement; but he bore a part in them all himſelf, and animated the People by his own Example. The Year before he died he found himſelf decaying, his Conſtitution being broken by the Fatigues he had undergone in the Service of the Colony; and after a lingring Indiſpoſition of ſeveral Months, he died *May* 9, 1657. univerſally lamented by all the Colonies of *New-England*, in the 69th Year of his Age, and was interred with the greateſt Honour and Solemnity that was poſſible for the Colony to expreſs.

He was ſucceeded by Mr. *Thomas Prince*, a Man of no Learning, but of good natural Parts; who finding the Want of a liberal Education in himſelf, became the greateſt Patron of Learning that that Colony ever enjoy'd, and was ſo well beloved, that

that he was conſtantly choſen Governor as long as he lived. Anno 1637

IN the ſame Year died *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; Governor of *Newhaven* Colony; he was born at *Stony-Stratford* in *Oxfordſhire*, his Father being Miniſter of the Town: He was bred an Eaſt Country Merchant, and travelling into thoſe Parts was employed by the King as his Agent at the Court of *Denmark*; after three Years he returned home, and continued ſeveral Years in *London*, a Merchant of great Buſineſs and Reputation. When the *Puritannical Miniſters* were driven out of the Land by the Rigour of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Impoſitions, and among the reſt his old Acquaintance Mr. *Davenport*, he took up a Reſolution to accompany him to *New-England*, where they arrived in the Year 1637. and chooſing to be a diſtinct Colony by themſelves, ſetled in the South-Weſt Part of the Country, at a Place which they called *Newhaven*, and ſpread themſelves along the Coaſt, where in a few Years they built ſeveral pretty Villages. As Mr. *Davenport* was Miniſter, ſo Mr. *Eaton* was choſen annually their Governor as long as he lived. He met with more Troubles than moſt of the Governors of the other Colonies, but bore them with invincible Patience and Conſtancy. He had once ſuch a large *Fiſtula* in his Breaſt, that the Surgeon told him he had not Courage enough himſelf to lay it open, being afraid he would dye under his Hands; but Mr. *Eaton* bid him, with an undaunted Reſolution, perform the Operation, and not be afraid, *For God calls you to do*, ſays he, *and me to ſuffer*; and after ſome time he was perfectly cured. He was a Perſon of ſtrict Virtue and Piety, facetious and pleaſant in Converſation, but always grave upon proper Occaſions: He was very charitable to the Poor, and eaſie of Acceſs by the meaneſt Perſons, but always

Anno 1657 always maintained the Dignity of his Character as a Magiſtrate. He was exerciſed with great Troubles in his Family, ſeveral of his Children died of malignant Diſtempers, his Wife was troubled with a melancholy Indiſpoſition, and at laſt the Diviſions and Quarrels that aroſe in the Church of *Hertford* broke his Heart. He ſeemed to be in perfect Health the Day before he died, and had been taking a Solitary Walk in the Fields, for the Benefit of private Meditation; when he came home in the Evening, he went into his Wife's Chamber, and bid her good Night. She look'd up in his Face and ſaid, *Methinks you look ſad.* He replied, *The Troubles of the Church of* Hertford *make me ſo.* After this he went to his Apartment, and about Midnight being heard to fetch a deep Groan, one of the Watchers that ſat up with his Wife run in, and ask'd him how he did, he replied, *Very ill*, and without ſpeaking a Word more died. Mr. *Francis Newman*, who had been Secretary of the Colony for ſeveral Years, was choſen unanimouſly his Succeſſor.

WITHIN a few Months of Governour *Eaton* tho' at a very great Diſtance of Place, dyed his Son in Law *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; ſometime Governour of *Connecticut Colony*: He was born about *Shrewsbury* in the Year 1600, educated a *Turkey* Merchant, and was a conſiderable Trader to thoſe Parts for ſeveral Years in *London*, till the Violence of the Times forced him to remove to *New England*, where he ſettled at *Hertford*, and was made Governour of the Colony. After ſome time his elder Brother dying, who was Warden of the *Fleet*, he was obliged to return to *England* to look after his Affairs, where he was quickly taken Notice of by thoſe who had then the Government in their Hands: They made him firſt Warden of the *Fleet* in his Brother's Room, then

then Commiſſioner of the Admiralty and Navy-Office, and at laſt got him choſen a Member of Parliament. Theſe unexpected Preferments determined him to ſend over for his Family, and ſpend the Reſt of his Days in his native Country. He was a conſumptive Man, troubled with a Cough and Spitting of Blood for above 30 Years, but a Perſon of great Piety, Virtue and Liberality to the Poor: He was extremely beloved in both *Englands*, but his Conſtitution being quite waſted, he died this Year in the 58th Year of his Age. *Anno* 1657

THE next Year carry'd off two ancient Miniſters, who had been forced to leave their Native Country on the Account of Religion. *Anno* 1658

ONE was the Reverend Mr. *Ralph Patridge*, who had been a Miniſter in the Church of *England*, but by the Severity of the Biſhops was hunted (as he uſed to expreſs it) like a Partridge upon the Mountains, till at laſt he reſolved to get out of their Reach, and take his Flight into *New-England*. He ſetled at *Duxbury* in the Colony of *Plimouth*, and was in ſuch high Eſteem all over the Country that the Synod of *Cambridge* in the Year 1648, choſe him one of the three to draw up their Model of Church Government: He was a Perſon of great Humility and Self-denial, and contented himſelf with very mean Circumſtances in the World, inſomuch that when moſt of the Miniſters of *Plimouth* Colony left their *Places*, on Account of the People's withdrawing their Maintenance, this good Man continued with his poor People till he died: He was an able and faithful Preacher of the Goſpel, and was rarely, if ever interrupted in his Work by bodily Sickneſs, till he died, in a good old Age, having ſerved Chriſt in the Work of the Miniſtry between forty and fifty Years.

THE

Anno 1658 THE other was the Reverend Mr. *Peter Bulkly*, born at *Woodhill* in *Bedfordſhire*, 1582. He was educated at *St. John's* in *Cambridge*, and was Fellow of the College. He had a Gentleman's Eſtate left him by his Father, whom he ſucceeded in his Miniſtry at the Place where he was born, and continued in his Poſt without any Diſturbance for Twenty one Years; but at laſt Information being given to Archbiſhop *Laud* of his *Nonconformity* to ſome of the Ceremonies of the Church, he was immediately ſilenced; whereupon he turned his Eſtate into Money, and came over to *New-England* in the Year 1635. and bringing over a good Number of *Planters* with him, they ſetled by themſelves at a Place which they called *Concord*. Here he buried a great Eſtate, whilſt almoſt all his Servants got Eſtates under him. It was his Cuſtom, when a Servant had lived with him a certain Number of Years, to diſmiſs him his Service, and put him into a Farm for himſelf, and ſo take another in his Room. He was an excellent Scholar, a thundring Preacher, of an holy and exemplary Converſation, and one who had great Authority and Influence in the Place where he lived. He printed a Treatiſe of the *New Covenant*, which was very much eſteemed in thoſe Times, and at laſt died of Age and Infirmities, *March* the 9th, 1658-9. in the 77th Year of his Age.

BUT to return to the *Quakers*; neither the paſſing the forementioned Laws, nor the ſevere Execution of them, had the leaſt Influence on the *Quakers*, who gloried in their Sufferings, as *for the Cauſe of God, and the Teſtimony of Jeſus*. They travel'd the Country, diſturb'd the Churches, and continued their private Meetings as much as ever. On the 13th of *April* two Women ſpake aloud in the Meeting-houſe at *Boſton*; and a few Weeks after *T. Harris* of *Barbadoes* diſturbed

ed the publick Worſhip again, for which he was apprehended, ſent to the Houſe of Correction, and put to hard Labour; but *Harris*, like the reſt of his Brethren, would not ſtrike a Stroke in Priſon; he would ſuffer any thing, but do nothing; nay, ſo ſtubborn were he and his Friends, that they would neither pay the Fines that were laid upon them, nor be at the Charge of tranſporting themſelves out of the Country, tho' they were offered their Liberty upon that Condition, nor ſo much as pay the Goaler his Fees. In ſhort, they were as perverſe and obſtinate in Priſon as out of it, inſomuch that the Goaler was forced at laſt to lay the Caſe before the Magiſtrates, who thereupon ordered him, "To whip them twice a Week if they would not Work, and the "firſt time to add five Stripes to the former ten, "and each time after to add three more, and "the two Conſtables of the Town to be pre-"ſent at the Execution." But *Harris* and his Friends were not to be tamed by theſe Methods, they reſolved to dye rather than ſubmit, and one of them was almoſt whipt to Death upon this Order; but when *Harris* had ſuffered a ſecond Whipping ſome of his Friends paid his Charges, and ſo he was diſmiſſed. And this became afterwards the uſual Practice of the *Quakers*, not to pay their own Fees, but to ſuffer others to do it for them *. But when the Priſoners had no Friends to aſſiſt them, the Court was forced to rid their Hands of them as well as they could, as appears from the Caſe of *Daniel* and *Provided Southick*, who being fined Ten Pounds for not coming to Meeting, and refuſing to work or pay the Money, were ordered to be ſold to the Plantations. The Order of the Court ran thus: Anno 1658

* New-England *judged*, p. 107.

"WHERE-

Anno 1658 "WHEREAS *Daniel* and *Provided Southick*, "Son and Daughter of *Lawrence* "*Southick*, have been fined by the Courts of "*Salem* and *Ipſwich*, pretending they have no "Eſtates, reſolving not to work; and others "have been fined for ſiding with the *Quakers*, "and abſenting themſelves from publick Or- "dinances; in Anſwer to what ſhall be done "for the Satisfaction of the Fines, the Court "upon Peruſal of a Law which was made up- "on the Account of Debts, reſolves that the "Treaſurers of the ſeveral Counties are and "ſhall be fully empowered to ſell the ſaid Per- "ſons to any of the *Engliſh* Plantations at *Vir-* "*ginia* or *Barbadoes*, to anſwer the ſaid Fines, "*&c.*" *Edward Rawſon*, Secr.

I AM apt to think this Order was made rather to terrify the Quakers, than with a Deſign to be put in Execution; for when *Southick* and his Wife had been thoroughly frighten'd, they were ſent home without any further Puniſhment; nor is there a ſingle Inſtance to be given of any one that was ſold for the Payment of his Fees.

SEVERAL private Meetings of the Quakers were diſcovered about this Time in *Salem*, *Boſton*, and other Places; about the latter End of *June* Twenty were taken at the Houſe of *Nicholas Phelps* in the Woods about five Miles from *Salem*, among whom were two Foreigners *William Brend* and *William Leddra*, who were ſent to the Houſe of Correction at *Boſton*; and having received ten Laſhes, were told they might have their Liberty, paying their Fees, and hiring the Marſhal to convey them out of the Country, but they refuſed to depart, and were therefore whipt more ſeverely, till ſome of their Friends laid

laid down the Money, and ſo they were diſcharged. *Anno* 1658

It now appeared that the Inhabitants of *Salem* enclined very much to the Opinion of the *Quakers*, for more Families in that little Village deſerted the publick Worſhip than in *Boſton* itſelf, and this they did in Defiance of a very ſevere Law which Enacted, * "That every Perſon or Perſons called *Quakers* ariſing from among themſelves, and profeſſing any of their pernicious Ways by ſpeaking, writing, meeting together on the Lord's Day, or any other Time, ſhould pay to the Country 10 *Shillings*, and every one ſpeaking in ſuch a Meeting 5 *Pounds*, and in caſe any ſuch Perſons had been ſcourged, or whipt the firſt Time according to the former Laws, that then they ſhould be kept at Work in the Houſe of Correction, 'till they put in Security by two ſufficient Men that they ſhall not any more vent their hateful Errors, nor uſe their ſinful Practices; or ſhall depart the Juriſdiction at their own Charge; and if they return, to ſuffer as in the caſe of Foreigners".

Several Perſons and Families were ruined by the Execution of theſe Laws, for no ſooner did they abſent themſelves from the publick Worſhip, but Enquiry was made where they were, and whether they had not been at ſome private Meeting of *Quakers*; if they were ſilent, or could not give a good Account of themſelves, they were watch'd by the Informers, who quickly laid their Hands upon them. But ſuch was the enthuſiaſtick Fire of the *Quakers*, that nothing could quench it: The Sect grew under all theſe Diſadvantages, and ſeveral Familes went over to

* New-England *judg'd*. p. 94.

Anno 1658 it; their Sufferings ſerv'd only to raiſe the Compaſſions of the People, and open their Mouths againſt the publick Miniſters of the Country, as the Authors of all the Severities uſed againſt them. No Methods were effectual to ſuppreſs them, for no ſooner was one Party of *Quakers* puniſh'd and ſent out of the Country as the Law directed, but another was immediately detached from their Head-Quarters in *Rhode-Iſland*, which provok'd the Magiſtrates to ſuch a Degree, that at their next General Court they paſs'd a Law to baniſh all foreign *Quakers* upon Pain of Death; the Words are theſe;

After the Preamble declaring the Reaſons of their Proceedings, it follows:*

—— "This Court doth order and enact that "every Perſon or Perſons of the accurſed Sect "of the *Quakers*, which is not an Inhabitant of, "but is found within this Juriſdiction, ſhall be "apprehended without Warrant, where no Ma"giſtrate is at Hand, by any Conſtable, Com"miſſioner, or ſelect Man, and conveyed from "Conſtable to Conſtable, until they come before "the next Magiſtrate, who ſhall commit the "ſaid Perſon or Perſons to cloſe Priſon, there "to remain without Bail until the next Court "of Aſſiſtants, where they ſhall have a legal "Trial by a ſpecial Jury, and being convicted "to be of the Sect of *Quakers*, ſhall be ſen"tenc'd to be baniſhed upon Pain of Death; "and that every Inhabitant of this Juriſdiction "being convicted to be of the aforeſaid Sect, ei"ther, by taking up, publiſhing, or defending "the horrid Opinions of the *Quakers*, —— or "by taking up their abſurd and deſtructive Pra"ctices, *viz.* denying civil Reſpects to Equals,

* J. Whiting's *Anſwer to Dr.* Mather. p. 27.

"and

" and Reverence to Superiors, and withdrawing Anno
" from our Church-Aſſemblies, and inſtead 1658
" thereof frequent private Meetings of their
" own, —— or by adhering to, or approving
" of any known *Quaker*, —— or condemn-
" ing the Practice of Proceeding of this Court
" againſt the *Quakers*, —— Every ſuch Per-
" ſon upon Examination and legal Conviction
" before the Court of Aſſiſtants ſhall be com-
" mitted to cloſe Priſon for one Month, and
" then, unleſs they chooſe voluntarily to depart
" this Juriſdiction, ſhall give Bond for their
" good Behaviour, and appear at the next Court
" of Aſſiſtants, where continuing obſtinate, and
" refuſing to retract, and reform the ſaid Opi-
" nions and Practices, ſhall be ſentenced to Ba-
" niſhment upon Pain of Death: And in caſe
" of the aforeſaid voluntary Departure, not to
" remain, nor again to return into this Juriſ-
" diction without the Allowance of the Coun-
" cil firſt had, and publiſhed on Penalty of be-
" ing baniſhed on Pain of Death."

IT was with great Difficulty that this * Law was obtained; the Court of Magiſtrates indeed paſs'd it roundly without the Clauſe of being tried by a *Jury*, agreeing that it ſhould be executed by a Country Court conſiſting of 3 Magiſtrates, a Majority of whom were to give Judgment; but the Court of Deputies would by no means give their conſent, it being contrary to the Laws of *England*, to put Men to Death without Trial by a Jury, but the Magiſtrates at laſt, by prevailing with two of the Deputies to change Sides, carried it in the Houſe of Deputies by the Majority of a ſingle Voice, the Speaker and 11 being againſt it, and 13 for it. But the

* New-England *judg'd*, p. 102.

Anno 1659 twelve that were againſt the Bill reſolved to enter their Proteſts, 'till the others agreed to qualify it by adding thoſe Words of *being tried by a ſpecial Jury.*

FOUR Quakers ſuffered Death by Virtue of this Law, *William Robinſon* of *London* Merchant; *Marmaduke Stevenſon* of the Eaſt Part of *Yorkſhire*, Countryman; *Mary Dyar*, and *William Leddra*: the three former of theſe coming from *Rhode-Iſland* in the Month of *June*, were apprehended, and baniſh'd on Pain of Death, and were allowed 'till the 4th of *September* to depart the Juriſdiction; the two Men went into *Paſcataqua* Government, and the Woman to *Rhode-Iſland*, but returning again to *Boſton*, they were all three apprehended about the middle of *October*, and carried before the Magiſtrates to ſhew Cauſe, why they came into the Juriſdiction after they had been baniſhed upon Pain of Death; but all the Reply they made was, that *they came in Obedience to the Call of the Lord.* Next Day they were ſent for again, when the Governour ſpoke to this Effect. "We have made many Laws, "and endeavoured by ſeveral Ways to keep you "from us, but I find neither Whipping, nor "Impriſonment, nor cutting off of Ears, nor "Baniſhment upon Pain of Death will keep you "from us; I deſire not your Death." Being then asked what they had to ſay for themſelves, *William Robinſon* delivered in a Paper into Court deſiring it might be read, which was refus'd, and Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him; *to be carried back to the Place from whence he came, and from thence to the Place of Execution to be hanged on the Gallows 'till he be dead.* *Stevenſon* and *Dyar* ſaid nothing for themſelves at their Trial; but *Stevenſon* a little before his Execution gave out a Paper of Reaſons of his coming to *Boſton* to this Effect, "That as he was following his Plough

" in the East Part of *Yorkshire* in *Old England*, " he was in a sort of Rapture, and heard a se- " cret Voice, in his Conscience, saying, *I have* " *ordained thee a Prophet to the Nations.* In O- " bedience to this Voice he left his Family " and Employment, and went first to *Barba-* " *does* in the Year 1658, and from thence to " *Rhode-Island*, where, as he was visiting the " Seed, the Word of the Lord came to him " again, saying, *Go to* Boston *with thy Brother* " *William Robinson*; now (says he) for yielding " Obedience to this Command of the Ever- " living God, and not obeying the Commands " of Men do I suffer these Bonds near to Death.

Anno 1659

Sign'd MARMADUKE ROBINSON.

Boston-Prison, in the 8th Month, 1659.

But have a New Name given me, which the World knows not of, written in the Book of Life.

Robinson's Paper which was afterwards printed was to the same Purpose; declaring the Reason of his continuing in the Jurisdiction after his Banishment to be from the Motion of the Lord in him.

ON the 27th of *October* they were all three carried to the Place of Execution, where the two Men were hanged, but when *Mary Dyar* was upon the Ladder she receiv'd a Pardon, and was sent away to *Newport* in *Rhode-Island*, the Place from whence she came; but being pos- sess'd with the Spirit of Martyrdom, she could not stay at home, but came again into the Ju- risdiction some Time after, and was executed *June* 1. 1660.

Dr. *Mather* says, * " If any enquire with " what Spirit these Men dyed, he must sincerely

* Mather, Book 6. page 59.

Anno 1659 " ſay, that as far as he can learn they ſhewed " little enough of the Spirit of Martyrdom, " they dyed not like the true Martyrs of Jeſus " Chriſt with the glorious Spirit of God reſt- " ing on them; but a fierce, a raging, a ſul- " len and a revengeful Spirit, and a Degree of " Madneſs rather inſpired them." But how- ever theſe Executions raiſed a great Clamour againſt the Government, and ſullied the Glory of their former Sufferings from the Biſhops, for now it appeared that the *New-England Puritans* were no better Friends to Liberty of Conſcience than their Adverſaries, and that the Queſtion between them was not, whether one Party of Chriſtians ſhould have Power to oppreſs another, but who ſhould have that Power? Great Num- bers of the common People were offended at theſe Proceedings, as well as the Generality of ſober Perſons in the ſeveral Nations of *Europe*, which obliged the Magiſtrates to publiſh to the World the following Declaration in their own Vindication.

" THO' the Juſtice of our Proceedings againſt " *William Robinſon*, *Marmaduke Stevenſon* and " *Mary Dyar*, ſupported by the Authority of " this Court, the Laws of this Country, and the " Laws of God, may rather perſuade us to ex- " pect Encouragement and Commendation from " all prudent and pious Men, than convince us " of any Neceſſity to apologize for the ſame; " yet foraſmuch as Men of weaker Parts out of " Pity and Commiſeration (a commendable and " Chriſtian Virtue, yet eaſily abuſed, and ſuſ- " ceptible of ſiniſter and dangerous Impreſſions) " for want of a full Information may be leſs ſa- " tisfied, and Men of perverſer Principles to ca- " lumniate us, and render us as bloody Perſe- " cutors; to ſatisfy one, and ſtop the Mouths " of the other, we have thought fit to declare,

" that

" that about three Years ſince divers Perſons Anno
" profeſſing themſelves *Quakers* (of whoſe perni- 1659
" cious Opinions and Practices we had received
" Intelligence from good Hands) both from *Bar-*
" *badoes* and *England*, arrived at *Boſton*, whoſe
" Perſons were only ſecured to be ſent away by
" the firſt Opportunity without Cenſure or Pu-
" niſhment, altho' their profeſſed Tenets, turbu-
" lent and contemptuous Behaviour to Autho-
" rity, would have juſtified a ſeverer Animad-
" verſion; yet the Prudence of this Court was
" exerciſed only in making Proviſion to ſecure
" the Peace and Order here eſtabliſhed againſt
" their Attempts, whoſe Deſign (we were well
" aſſured by our own Experience, as well as by
" the Example of their Predeceſſors in *Munſter*)
" was to undermine and ruine the ſame; and
" accordingly a Law was made and publiſhed,
" prohibiting all Maſters of Ships to bring any
" *Quakers* into this Juriſdiction, and themſelves
" from coming in, on Penalty of the Houſe of
" Correction 'till they could be ſent away.
" Notwithſtanding which by a Back-Door they
" found Entrance, and the Penalty inflicted on
" them proving inſufficient to reſtrain their im-
" pudent and inſolent Obtruſions, was encreaſed
" by the Loſs of the Ears of thoſe who offended
" a ſecond Time; which alſo being too weak a
" Defence againſt their impetuous and fanatick
" Fury, neceſſitated us to endeavour our Secu-
" rity; and upon ſerious Conſideration a Law
" was made, that ſuch Perſons ſhould be ba-
" niſhed on Pain of Death, according to the
" Example of *England*, in their Proviſion againſt
" *Jeſuits*, which Sentence being regularly pro-
" nounced at the laſt Court of Aſſiſtants againſt
" theſe Parties, and they either returning, or
" continuing preſumptuouſly in this Juriſdiction
" after the Time limited were apprehended,

Anno 1659 "owning themſelves to be the Perſons baniſhed, "were ſentenced by the Court to Death, ac- "cording to the Law aforeſaid, which hath "been executed on two of them. *Mary Dyar* "upon Petition of her Son, and the Mercy and "Clemency of this Court had Liberty to depart "within two Days, which ſhe hath accepted "of. The Conſideration of our gradual Pro- "ceedings will vindicate us from the clamou- "rous Accuſations of Severity; our own juſt "and neceſſary Defence calling upon us (other "Means failing) to offer the Point which theſe "Perſons have violently and wilfully ruſhed up- "on, and thereby became *Felones de ſe*, which, "might it have been prevented, and the ſove- "reign Law *Salus Populi* been preſerved, our "former Proceedings, as well as the ſparing "*Mary Dyar* upon an inconſiderable Interceſſion "will manifeſtly evince, we deſire their Lives "abſent, rather than their Deaths preſent."

THE *Quakers* have obſerved upon this Declaration; that the Law of putting *Quakers* to Death, which it deſigns to vindicate was contrary to the Laws of *England*, and conſequently a Forfeiture of their Charter, the Example of the *Jeſuits* being nothing to the Purpoſe, for if a Law made againſt *Jeſuits* may be turn'd againſt *Quakers*, by the ſame Way of Reaſoning, it may be made Uſe of againſt the *Presbyterians* themſelves, when the Power is lodged in proper Hands. But ſuppoſe it was not contrary to the Laws of *England*, it was certainly contrary to the Laws of God which allows every Man a Right of private Judgment. And further, tho' it were allowed that the *Quakers* by their imprudent Conduct had juſtly expoſed themſelves to the Notice of the Civil Magiſtrate, yet the Offence was by no Means equal to the Puniſhment, for they were not proceeded againſt for Felony or Treaſon,

Treaſon, but for Contempt of Authority, and of God's Ordinances, which might indeed deſerve a Fine or a Pillory, but has never been thought worthy of Death by any civilized Nation in the World. Anno 1660

BUT the preſent Magiſtrates were not to be ſoftned by theſe Arguments, they were ſatisfied of the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of their Laws, and therefore reſolved to continue the Execution of them. Several *Quakers* were baniſhed on Pain of Death, who never returned into the Country any more, as, *Laurence* and *Caſſandra Southick*, *Joſiah Southick*, *S. Shattock*, *N. Phelps*, and others. But *William Leddra*, a Foreigner, who had been whipp'd ſeveral Times, and turned out of the Juriſdiction, and at laſt baniſhed upon pain of Death, coming again to *Boſton* this Spring in Defiance of the Laws, was apprehended and carried before the Court of Aſſiſtants: Mr. *Bradſtreet* asked him, * Whether he was willing to go for *England*, he anſwered, *That he had no Buſineſs there*, he was then told, he ſhould have his Liberty, if he would promiſe to return no more; to which he replied, *I ſtand not in mine own Will, but in the Will of the Lord; if I may have my Freedom I ſhall go, but to make ſuch a Promiſe I cannot.* Mr. *Bradſtreet* then ſaid, That if he would neither go for *England*, nor promiſe to keep out of the Juriſdiction he muſt ſuffer the Law; *William* then appealed to the Laws of *England* for his Trial, but his Appeal was refuſed. The Court ſpent a great deal of Time in perſuading him to recant his Errors, to conform to the Laws of the Country, or promiſe to come there no more, but he was very obſtinate. *What joyn*

* New-England *judg'd*. p. 313, &c.

Anno 1660 *with ſuch Murtherers as you* (ſays he)? *then let every Man that meets me ſay, Lo! this is the Man that has forſaken the God of his Salvation.* At laſt, Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon him, which was executed *March* 14, 1660-61; he ſaid little at the Gallows but this, *That for bearing his Teſtimony for the Lord againſt Deceivers and the Deceived he was brought there to ſuffer.*

WHILE *Leddra* was upon his Trial *Wenlock Chriſtiſon*, * who had been baniſhed upon pain of Death came boldly into Court with his Hat upon his Head, warning the Magiſtrates to ſhed no more innocent Blood; the *Marſhal* commanded him to pluck off his Hat, but he replyed, *No, I ſhall not.* He was then asked, whether his Name was not *Chriſtiſon*, and whether he had not been baniſhed upon pain of Death, which he confeſſing, was ſent to Priſon; he was brought upon his Trial in the Month of *May*, and made the beſt Defence for his Life of any of the *Quakers* that went before him: Being asked, What he had to ſay, why he ſhould not ſuffer the Law, he asked, by what Law they would put him to Death; the Court anſwered, by the late Law made againſt *Quakers*; he then deſired to know who empowered them to make that Law, and whether it was not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; the Governor replied, that there was a Law in *England* to hang *Jeſuits*; but *Wenlock* anſwered, If you put me to Death, 'tis not becauſe I go under the Name of a *Jeſuit*, but a *Quaker*: I appeal to the Laws of my own Nation. The Court told him, he ſhould have a fair Trial for his Life, by a Bench and Jury; but he continued to appeal to the Laws of *England*, ſaying, He had never read, nor heard of any

* New-England *judg'd*. p. 319.

Law

Law that was in *England* to hang *Quakers*; however, the Court over-ruled his Plea, and the Jury brought him in guilty. When Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him, he desired the Court to consider what they had gained by their cruel Proceedings against the *Quakers*; *For the last Man that was put to Death,* (says he) *here are five come in his Room, and if you have Power to take my Life from me, God can raise up the same Principle of Life in ten of his Servants, and send them among you in my Room, that you may have Torment upon Torment.* What Effect this Speech had upon them I can't determine, but before the 13th of *June*, which was the Day appointed for his Execution, he was set at Liberty, and conducted out of the Jurisdiction, together with 27 *Quakers* more, then in Prison. *Anno* 1661

THE Court began to be sensible that the putting Men to Death for their religious Principles, was odious in the Eye of the World; that in the Case of the *Quakers* it did not answer their Ends, for the more they persecuted, the more bloody Work they had upon their Hands; and therefore they resolved for the future, only to whip them at the Cart's-Tail, as Vagabonds, thro' all the Towns in their Way out of the Jurisdiction. 'Tis possible likewise, that the Change of Government in *England* might make them act with more Caution, for the *Quakers* were very busy about this Time in soliciting K. *Charles* the Second, to put a Stop to the Hardships of their Friends in *New-England*, and at last, they obtained the following Order.

CHARLES R.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you "well, having been informed, that se-"veral of our Subjects among you called *Qua-*"*kers*, have been, and are imprisoned by you,

"whereof

Anno 1661 " whereof ſome have been executed, and others " (as hath been repreſented to us) are in Dan- " ger to undergo the like; We have thought fit " to ſignify our Pleaſure in that Behalf for the " future, and do hereby require, That if there " be any of thoſe People called *Quakers* amongſt " you, now already condemned to ſuffer Death, " or other corporal Puniſhment, or that are im- " priſoned, and obnoxious to the like Condem- " nation, you are to forbear to proceed any fur- " ther therein, but that you forthwith ſend the " ſaid Perſons (whether condemned, or impri- " ſoned) over into this our Kingdom of *England*, " together with their reſpective Crimes or Of- " fences laid to their Charge, to the End ſuch " Courſe may be taken with them here, as ſhall " be agreeable to our Laws and their Demerits, " and for ſo doing, theſe our Letters ſhall be your " ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge. Given at " our Court at *Whitehall*, *Sept.* 9. 1661, in the " 13th Year of our Reign.

Subſcribed, To our truſty and well-beloved *John Endicott*, Eſq; and to all and every other the Governour or Governours of our Plantation of *New-England*, and of all the Colonies thereunto belonging that now are, or hereafter ſhall be; and to all and every the Miniſters and Officers of our ſaid Plantation and Colonies whatſoever within the Continent of *New-England*. By His Majeſty's Command.

William Morris.

THIS put an effectual Stop to the Sufferings of the *Quakers* on the Account of their Principles, the Hands of the Government being tied up by this Letter from putting their Laws in Execution

tion for the future; ſome of them indeed have been puniſhed ſince, as Vagabonds and Criminals againſt the State, but none that I know of, purely for their Sentiments in Religion. Anno 1661

It ought to be obſerved, that all the Colonies of *New-England* were not equally ſevere againſt the *Quakers*, they ſuffer'd but little in the Juriſdictions of *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, but *Plimouth* Patent copied after the *Maſſachuſets*, as appears by the following Abſtract of Capt. *James Cudworth*'s Letter to his Friend in *London*, dated *December* 10, 1658.

"AS for the * State and Condition of Things "amongſt us (ſays he) it is ſad, and "like ſo to continue; the Antichriſtian perſe-"cuting Spirit is very active, and that in the "Powers of this World; he that will not whip "and laſh, perſecute and puniſh Men that differ "in Matters of Religion muſt not ſit on the "Bench, nor ſuſtain any Office in the Common-"wealth. Laſt Election Mr. *Hatherly* and my-"ſelf left off the Bench, and I was diſcharged of "my Captainſhip, becauſe I had entertain'd "ſome of the *Quakers* at my Houſe (that I might "be the better acquainted with their Principles): "I thought it better ſo to do, than with the "blind World to cenſure, condemn, rail at, and "revile them, when they neither ſaw their Per-"ſons, nor knew any of their Principles; but "the *Quakers* and myſelf can't cloſe in divers "Things; and ſo I ſignified to the Court I was "no *Quaker*, but muſt bear my Teſtimony a-"gainſt ſundry Things that they held, as I had "Occaſion and Opportunity, but withal I told "them, that as I was no *Quaker*, ſo I would be

* New-England *judg'd*, p. 169.

"no

Anno 1661 " no *Perſecutor*; this Spirit did work thoſe two " Years that I was of the Magiſtracy, during " which Time I was on ſundry Occaſions forced " to declare my Diſſent in ſundry Actings of " that Nature, which tho' done with all Mode- " ration, and due Reſpect, yet wrought great " Diſaffection and Prejudice in them againſt me, " and produced a Petition to the Court againſt " me, ſign'd with 19 Hands, which was follow'd " with another in my Favour, ſign'd with 54 " Hands. ——— The Court return'd in An- " ſwer to the laſt Petition, That they acknow- " ledged my Parts and Gifts, and profeſſed, " they had nothing againſt me, only in the " Thing of my giving Entertainment to *Quakers*, " tho' I break no Law in ſo doing, for our Law " then was, ——— *If any entertain a* Quaker, " *and keep him after he is warned by a Magiſtrate* " *to depart, he ſhall pay* 20 s. *a Week for entertain-* " *ing him.* But ſince that, a Law has been " made, *That if any entertain a* Quaker, *tho' but* " *a quarter of an Hour, he ſhall forfeit* 5 l. Ano- " ther, ——— *That if any ſee a* Quaker, *he is* " *bound, tho' he lives ſix miles or more from a Con-* " *ſtable, to give immediate Notice to him, or elſe be* " *ſubject to the Cenſure of the Court.* ——— An- " other, ——— *That if the Conſtable know, or* " *hear of any* Quaker *in his Precincts, he is pre-* " *ſently to apprehend him, and if he will not preſently* " *depart the Town, to whip, and ſend him away.* " Divers have been whipp'd within our Patent; " and truly, to tell you plainly, the whipping of " them with that Cruelty, as ſome have been " whipp'd, and their patience under it, hath " ſometimes been the Occaſion of gaining more " Adherents to them, than if they had ſuffered " them openly to have preached a Sermon.

" ANOTHER Law made againſt the *Quakers* " is, ——— *That if there be a* Quaker's *Meeting*

" *any*

" *any where in this Colony, the Party in whoſe Houſe,* Anno
" *or on whoſe Ground it is ſhall pay* 40 s. *the Prea-* 1661
" *cher* 40 s. *and every Hearer* 40 s. —— Our
" laſt Law is, —— *That the* Quakers *are to be*
" *apprehended, and carried before a Magiſtrate, and*
" *by him committed to cloſe Priſon, till they will pro-*
" *miſe to depart, and never come again, and will alſo*
" *pay their Fees (neither of which they will ever do)*
" *and they muſt be kept only with the Country Allow-*
" *ance* (which is coarſe Bread and Water). *No*
" *Friend may bring them any thing, nor be permit-*
" *ted to ſpeak to them; nay, if they have Money of*
" *their own, they may not make Uſe of it to relieve*
" *themſelves.* ——

" IN the *Maſſachuſets*, after they have whipt
" them, and cut off their Ears, they have now
" at laſt gone the furtheſt Step they can; they
" have baniſhed them upon pain of Death if ever
" they come there again; we expect we muſt do
" the like; we muſt dance after their Pipe, for
" it is well if in ſome there be not a Deſire to
" be their Apes and Imitators in all their Pro-
" ceedings of this Nature.

" ALL theſe carnal and antichriſtian Ways,
" being not of God's Appointment, effect
" nothing, as to the obſtructing or hindring
" them in their Way or Courſe: It is only the
" Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to
" convince Gainſayers; theſe are the mighty
" Weapons of a Chriſtian's Warfare, by which
" great and mighty Things are done and accom-
" pliſhed.

" THE *Quakers* have many Meetings and
" many Adherents, almoſt the whole Town of
" *Sandwich* is adhering towards them; and give
" me leave a little to acquaint you with their
" Sufferings, which is grievous to, and ſaddens
" the Hearts of moſt of the precious Saints of
" God; it lies down and riſes up with them,

" and

Anno 1661 " and they cannot put it out of their Minds.---
" The *Maſſachuſets* have baniſhed ſix on pain of
" Death, and I wiſh that Blood be not ſhed:
" But our poor People are pillaged and plunder-
" ed of their Goods, and haply, when they have
" no more to ſatisfy their unſatiable Deſire, may
" be forced to fly, and glad they have their Lives
" for a Prey.

" As for the Means by which they are im-
" poveriſhed, thoſe in the firſt Place were their
" ſcrupling an Oath; upon which all were called
" upon to take the Oath of Fidelity; which
" they refuſing, a Clauſe was added, That if
" any Man refuſed or neglected to take it by
" ſuch a Time, he ſhould pay Five Pounds, or
" depart the Colony: When the Time is come,
" they are the ſame as before; then goes out the
" *Marſhal*, and fetcheth away their Cows and
" other Cattle. Well, another Court comes, and
" they are required to take the Oath again,---
" they cannot,--- then Five Pounds more. On
" this Account Thirty five Head of Cattle, as I
" have been credibly informed, hath been, by
" the Authority of our Court, taken from them
" the latter Part of this Summer.---

" THE laſt Court of Aſſiſtants, the firſt
" *Tueſday* of this Inſtant, the Court was pleaſed
" to determine Fines on *Sandwich* Men for
" Meetings on the firſt Day of the Week, and
" other Days, (for they meet ordinarily twice a
" Week beſides the Lord's-Day) an Hundred
" and Fifty Pounds; whereof *W. Newland* is
" Twenty four Pounds for himſelf and Wife, at
" Ten Shillings a Meeting; *W. Allen* Forty ſix
" Pounds; and a poor *Weaver* Twenty Pounds.
" Brother *Cook* told me, One of the Brethren at
" *Barnſtable* was in the Houſe when the Marſhal
" came to demand the Money, when all that he
" was worth did not amount to Ten Pounds.

" What

" What will be the End of ſuch Courſes or Prac- Anno
" tices the Lord only knows! 1661

" Our civil Powers are ſo exerciſed in Matters
" of Religion and Conſcience, that we have no
" Time to do any thing that tends to promote
" the civil Proſperity of the Place. We muſt
" now have a State Religion, ſuch as the Powers
" of this World will allow, and no other; a
" State Miniſtry, and a State Way of Mainte-
" nance; and we muſt worſhip and ſerve the
" Lord *Jeſus* as the World ſhall appoint us; we
" muſt all go to the publick Place of Meeting
" in the Pariſh where we dwell, or be preſented.
" I am informed of Three or Fourſcore laſt
" Court preſented for not coming to publick
" Meetings, at Ten Shillings a Time. Cer-
" tainly we have either leſs Wit or more Money
" than the *Maſſachuſets*, for a Man may ſtay a-
" way there for Five Shillings a Day, 'till it
" come to Twelve or Thirteen Pounds, if he
" has but Money to pay.

" We are wrapped up in a Labyrinth of con-
" fuſed Laws, that the Freemens Power is quite
" gone. *Sandwich* Men may not go to the Bay,
" leſt they be taken up for *Quakers*. *W. Newland*
" was there about his Occaſions Ten Days ago,
" and they put him in Priſon Twenty four Hours,
" and ſent for divers to witneſs againſt him, but
" they had not Proof enough to make him a
" *Quaker*, which if they had he ſhould have been
" whipped; nay, they may not go about their
" Occaſions in other Towns in our Colony,
" but Warrants lie in Ambuſh to apprehend and
" bring them before a Magiſtrate to give an
" Account of their Buſineſs. Some of the *Qua-*
" *kers* in *Rhode-Iſland* came to bring them
" Goods, to trade with them on more reaſonable
" Terms than the Merchants of the Country,
" but that will not be ſuffered; ſo that unleſs

Anno 1661 " the Lord ſtep in to their Help and Aſſiſtance, " their Caſe is ſad, and to be pitied, and truly, " it moves Bowels of Compaſſion in all Sorts, " except thoſe in Place, who carry it with a " high Hand towards them; thro' Mercy, we " have yet among us worthy Mr. *Dunſtar*, whom " the Lord hath made boldly to bear his Teſti- " mony againſt the Spirit of Perſecution." ——

James Cudworth.

BUT after ſo long a Narrative of Matters of Fact, 'tis but reaſonable that I acquaint the Reader with the Motives, that puſh'd the Government of *New-England* upon ſuch violent Meaſures, againſt the *Quakers*, which may be reduced to theſe three;

Firſt, THEIR new and ſtrange Opinions which ſeem'd to ſap the very Foundations of Chriſtianity. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only Rule of their Faith and Manners, and advanced their *Light within* in the Place of it; *the Spirit of the Lord is our Rule*, (ſaid one of them to Mr. *Shubael Dummer*) *and ought to be all Mens to walk by.* This *Light within* they affirmed to be ſufficient to Salvation without any thing elſe; and called them blind Beaſts and Lyars, who ſhould ſay that the Scriptures reveal God to us. *Samuel Fiſher* ſays, *The Scriptures are not God's Voice, they are in ſome Things fallible, and ſo not fit to be the Rule, but the Light of Chriſt in the Heart; this is infallible, the only Guide, Law, and Rule* *. They advanced new and ſtrange Notions about the Perſon of Chriſt calling him † *a certain heavenly divine Body, conſtituted of inviſible Fleſh, Blood, and Bones in which he came down from Heaven*; and they

* *Meſſages of the Lord.* p. 19, 21.
† *Anſwer to* Mather, *p.* 63.

directed

directed the People not to look ſo much to Chriſt without them, as to Chriſt within. *John Whiting* ſays, *The Quakers believe both in a Chriſt without and a Chriſt within, but not as two Chriſts, but one, and the ſame without as within. George Fox* ſays, *Your imagined God beyond the Stars, and your carnal Chriſt is utterly denied; to ſay this Chriſt is God and Man in one Perſon is a Lie*†. They denied the received Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*, ſaying that the Doctrine of three Perſons in the Godhead was introduced by the Pope*. They denied the *Morality* of the *Sabbath*, maintaining that every Day was equally the *Lord's*, and that there was no particular Day choſen or ſet apart by God for divine Worſhip. They denied the two Sacraments of *Baptiſm* and the *Lord's-Supper* calling them carnal Ordinances, and teaching the People, that there was no other *Baptiſm* under the Goſpel Diſpenſation, but the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, and no other Supper of the Lord but *Drinking the Wine new in the Kingdom of Heaven.* They condemned the Prayers and Preachings of the publick Miniſters, as carnal and wicked; they reviled their Perſons, calling them Prieſts of *Baal*, Hirelings, Deceivers of the People, and exhorted them to deſert their Market-houſes (as they called their Meeting-places) on Pain of the ſevereſt Judgments of Almighty God. The ſpreading of theſe new and ſtrange Doctrines alarmed the Clergy of the Country, and made them not only preach boldly againſt them, but call for the Aſſiſtance of the civil Magiſtrate, to preſerve the Purity of Religion, and prevent the Confuſions they were falling into.

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† *The Sword of the Lord drawn*, p. 5.
* Fox's *Great Myſtery*. p. 246.

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BUT *Secondly*, The Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *New-England* were not only offended at the Quakers *Doctrines*, but at their Seditious and riotous Manner of ſpreading them; for when a Man or Woman was moved by the Spirit of the Lord, they would leave their Families and Employments, and ramble over the whole Province to gain Proſelytes: They would inſinuate themſelves into private Families, and endeavour by a Pretence to Inſpiration to draw them from the publick Aſſemblies. It was for this that *Edward Wharton* of *Salem* was whip'd through ſeveral Towns, being told that if he would ſtay at home and mind his Buſineſs, he might have his Liberty. Several of the Quakers went thro' the Streets of the moſt populous Towns in the Country, and in a publick Manner denounced the Judgments of God upon the People, except they repented. *George Wilſon* went thro' the Streets of *Boſton*, crying with a loud Voice, that *the Lord was coming forth with Fire and Sword to plead with Boſton*; and *Eliz. Hooton* did the like at *Cambridge*. And to cloath their Meſſage with the greater Terrour, they covered themſelves with Sackcloth, and put Aſhes on their Heads. Four Women appeared in the Court at *Boſton* * in this rueful Figure when *Wenlock Chriſtiſon* was upon his Trial; nay, *Deborah Wilſon* was ſo impudent, that laying aſide the Modeſty of her Sex, ſhe went thro' the Streets of *Salem* ſtark naked as ſhe was born, for which ſhe was apprehended and ſent to the Houſe of Correction: One would think, that no ſober Perſon ſhould appear in Vindication of ſuch an Action, and yet *G. Biſhop* † repreſents her, as a

* New-England *judg'd*, *p.* 340, *in the Margin.*
† *Ibid. p.* 388.

modeſt

" modeſt Woman of a retired Life, and ſober " Converſation; and that bearing a great Bur- " then for the Hardneſs and Cruelty of the Peo- " ple, ſhe went thro' the Town of *Salem* naked " as a Sign, which ſhe having in part performed " (ſays he) was laid hold on, and bound over to " appear at the next Court of *Salem*, where the " wicked Rulers ſentenced her to be whipt." In ſhort the whole Province was ſadly diſturbed by theſe itinerant Prophets, and Propheteſſes, and the Minds of the People were continually diſquieted, there being ſeldom a Month in the Summer Time, wherein one or other had not a Meſſage to deliver after this Manner to the People. *Anno* 1661

BUT the Quakers were not content to prophecy in the Streets, and High-ways, but they entred the Meeting-Houſes and diſturbed the People at their Devotions; *Humphrey Norton* ſtood up in the Meeting-Houſe at *Boſton* after Sermon, and ſaid *, *Verily, this is the Sacrifice which the Lord accepteth not, for whilſt with the ſame Spirit that ye ſin, ye preach and pray and ſing, that Sacrifice is an Abomination to the Lord.* Another time, *Tho. Newhouſe* went into the Meeting-Houſe † with a Couple of great Glaſs-Bottles, and breaking them againſt one another in the Face of the Congregation, ſaid, *Thus will the Lord break you in pieces. Margaret Brewſter* went into the Meeting-Houſe another time, with her Face ſmeered all over as black as a Cole ‖, as a Sign (ſays my Author) of the black Pox, which was to come among them. *Lydia Wardwell*, Wife of *Eliakim Wardwell* of *Hampton* went at the Time of Divine Service into the Meeting-Houſe at *Newbury*, as

* New England *judged*, p. 72.
† *Ibid.* p. 431.
‖ *Anſwer to* Mather, *p.* 103.

1661 naked as ſhe was born*, which put the Congregation into ſuch Diſorder that they could not proceed in their Worſhip, till ſome of the Congregation had laid hold of her, and carried her to the Houſe of Correction, where ſhe received twenty or thirty Laſhes at the Whipping-poſt.

SUCH Methods of Reformation are not only riotous but infamous: If the *Quakers* had wrought Miracles, or produced any other ſufficient Credentials of their divine Miſſion, they ought to have been received in any Form; but to ſuppoſe the World muſt believe them to be Prophets and Propheteſſes without the leaſt external Evidence, merely becauſe they themſelves ſay ſo, or becauſe they have the Aſſurance to go about Streets in a ludicrous Manner, denouncing the Judgments of God againſt their Adverſaries, is the moſt abſurd Concluſion in the World. I am ſatisfied the *Modern Quakers* cannot approve of theſe Things, and their preſent Conduct is a Proof of it; for we hear no more of their Agitations, their Propheſyings in the Streets, and their Diſturbing the Aſſemblies of other Chriſtians; they are content with the Liberty of Worſhipping God, in their own Way, without troubling themſelves about other People.

BUT *Thirdly*, Another thing that diſguſted the Government of *New-England* was the ſtubborn and diſreſpectful Behaviour of the *Quakers* to Authority: It was a new thing in thoſe Times to ſee People refuſe the common Titles of Reſpect to their Superiors, and deny them the Ceremony of the Hat; this was apprehended to be a Denial of the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate, tho' 'tis now known that the *Quakers* make it a Part of their Religion: But their rude

* New-England *judged*, p. 376.

Behaviour in Court was very provoking; *Wharton*, *Chriſtiſon*, *Mary Tomkins*, and ſome others, being brought before Deputy Governor *Billingham* with their Hats on their Heads, he ordered them to be taken off and thrown on the Ground; whereupon *Mary Tomkins* ſetting her Foot on one of the Hats, calls out to the Governor in an indecent Manner, ſaying, *See I have your Honour under my Feet.* Beſides, they would not comply with any of the Uſages of the Country, they would neither hold up their Hand at the Bar, nor plead to their Indictments, nor give an intelligible Anſwer to any Queſtions which the Court asked them. When *Mary Tomkins* was asked, Where ſhe dwelt? All the Anſwer they could get was, that *She lived in God; for in him we live, and move, and have our Beings.* The Court had an immenſe deal of Trouble with them; for when one was at the Bar, half a Score (it may be) would come in to Court, and diſturb the Proceſs, by threatning the Magiſtrates with the Vengeance of God. And when any of the *Quakers* were convicted, they knew not what to do with them, for they would not ſubmit to any of their Orders; they would give no Security to the Government for their good Behaviour at Home, nor would they depart the Juriſdiction with a Promiſe not to return. When ſome of them were offered their Liberty upon theſe Terms, they refuſed it, ſaying, *They were at the Will of the Lord; the Lord commanded them to do as they did; and ſhould the Government ſend them never ſo far away, if the Lord commanded them they would return.* They would not pay the Fines that were laid upon them, nor work in Priſon, tho' they were whipped to Death for not doing it. In ſhort, the *Quakers* would ſuffer any thing, but would do nothing at the Command of the Magiſtrate; and this is the true Reaſon

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Anno 1661 why many of them ſuffered a great deal more Damage in their Goods and Chattels than otherwiſe they would. Now the *Quakers* themſelves confeſs, that a turbulent and provoking Carriage to the Government we live under, requires the Notice of the Civil Magiſtrate, and for this Reaſon their Friends in *Penſilvania* fined and impriſoned *George Keith*, and obliged him to leave the Province; tho' I am of Opinion it was not merely for his Crimes againſt the State, but for his new Doctrines, which had like to have made a Schiſm among them: But however, if turbulent and ſeditious Perſons, who diſquiet the Minds of People, diſturb the Peace of the Government, and refuſe Obedience to their Superiors, ought to be puniſhed; I leave all Mankind to judge whether the Behaviour of the *Quakers* in *New-England* did not abſolutely require the Interpoſure of the Civil Magiſtrate in this Way, for the Preſervation of the publick Peace.

THE General Court in their Addreſs of Congratulation to King *Charles* the Second on his Reſtoration, have endeavoured to juſtify the *Whole* of their Proceedings againſt the *Quakers* from the forementioned Topicks; they tell the King, "That the *Quakers* were open capital "Blaſphemers; open Seducers from the glorious "Trinity, the Lord *Chriſt*, the bleſſed Goſpel, "and from the holy Scriptures, as the Rule of "Life; open Enemies to Government itſelf, as "eſtabliſhed in the Hands of any but Men of "their own Principles; malignant Promoters of "Doctrines directly tending to ſubvert both our "Church and State." — They add further, — "That after all other Means, for a long Time "uſed in vain, they were at laſt conſtrained for "their own Safety to paſs a Sentence of Baniſh-"ment againſt them upon pain of Death, ſuch

"was

" was their dangerous, impetuous and deſperate Anno
" Turbulency in Religion, and to the State 1661
" Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; as that how unwilling
" ſoever, could it be avoided, the Magiſtrate,
" at leaſt in Conſcience both to God and Man,
" judged himſelf called for the Defence of all,
" to keep the Paſſage with the Point of the
" Sword held towards them. This could do no
" harm (ſay they) to them that would be warn-
" ed thereby; their willingly ruſhing themſelves
" thereupon was their own Act; and we with
" all Humility think a Crime, bringing their
" Blood upon their own Heads." —— They conclude therefore, — " That the *Quakers* died
" not becauſe of their other Crimes how capital
" ſoever, but for their ſuperadded Preſumpti-
" ons and incorrigible Contempt of Authority,
" breaking in upon 'em notwithſtanding the Sen-
" tence of Baniſhment. Had they not been re-
" ſtrain'd, there was too much Cauſe to fear that
" we ourſelves (*ſay they*) ſhould quickly have died,
" or worſe; and they would not be reſtrained but
" by Death: Nay, had they at laſt but promiſed
" to depart the Juriſdiction, and not to return
" without Leave from Authority, we ſhould
" have been glad to have ſaid, they ſhould not
" die."

BUT after all I muſt freely declare it as my Opinion, that no Man ought to be deprived of his civil Rights upon the Account of his religious Sentiments, tho' differing never ſo widely from the eſtabliſhed Doctrines of his Country. A *Turk* or a *Jew* has as much a Right to live as a *Chriſtian*, and therefore to fine or impriſon Men for not coming to Church, or to prohibit their Worſhipping God in a peaceable Manner according to the Light of their own Conſciences, is no better than Perſecution for Conſcience ſake: But when Men diſturb the publick Aſſemblies of other

Anno 1661. other *Chriſtians*, revile their Miniſters, and terrify the Minds of People by Predictions of approaching Judgments, as the *Primitive Quakers* of *New-England* did, 'tis the Duty of the Magiſtrate to reſtrain them; for the Miniſters and People of the Country had certainly as good a Right to be protected in their Way of Worſhip, as the *Quakers* had to ſet up a new One. Not that I think the Crimes which the *Quakers* were guilty of will, juſtify all the Severities of the Government againſt them; for it was very hard to take away Mens Lives for Contempt of the Court, for ſpeaking in a peculiar Dialect, or for being guilty of ſome riotous and ſeditious Practices; nor will the preſent Clergy of *New-England* vindicate theſe Proceedings. Dr. *Mather* ſays *, "That he does not approve of Perſe-"cution; that he abhors it; that he has preach-"ed againſt it, and writ againſt it; that he has "bewailed the Miſtakes that ſome Men have "committed in it; that he would have the "*Quakers* treated with all the Civility imagina-"ble, and would not have the civil Magiſtrate "inflict upon them the Damage of one Farthing "for their Conſciences." He tells us further †, "That his Country has ſince renounced theſe "Laws, and declared for a juſt Liberty of Con-"ſcience." I can aſſure the Reader this is now the general Senſe of the Country; and I heartily wiſh that ſuch generous Sentiments may prevail in all other Parts of the World.

* *Book* vii. *p.* 100. † *Ibid.* p. 24.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

CHAP.